

## **YS/LJS DISCUSSION & INTERNAL BULLETINS (*selection*) 1969-1970**

(all French texts -- 'Preuve finale' en Anglais -à vérifier)

(\* texts on file)

YDB: Youth Discussion Bulletin (internal, members only)

NEC: National Executive Council, YS-LJS

### **1969-06JuneA YS/LJS DB Vol.5 No. 1: Convention Call (& discussion)**

1969-06JuneA YS/LJS convention call

1969-06JuneB Gary P.: Report to the Plenum of the EC

1969-06JuneCa The Canadian Student Movement, by Gary P., Walter B.

\*1969-June *M. Mill: Criticism & Draft Counter-theses (6pp--on file)*

\*1969-June *J. Henderson: The Way Out for CUS (2pp--on file)*

### **1969-08aoûtA YS/LJS BI Vol.5 No.1:**

1969-08Aoûtb YS/LJS BI Vol.5 No.1: Le mouvement étudiant canadien (CEC)

\*1969-08août (B) *M. Mill: Critique et contre-thèse "Le mouvement étudiant"*

### **1969-08aoûtCa Couverture: YS/LJS Vol.5 No.1a: Appel pour le congrès**

1969-08aoûtCb Appel pour le congrès

1969-08aoûtDa Sommaire du rapport politique soumis au plénum du CE

1969-08aoûtEa La constitution de la LJS/YD

1969-08aoûtFa Porte de sortie pour la CUS (J. Henderson)

### **1969-09SeptA YS/LJS DB Vol.5 No.3.: Political Resolution (CEC)**

### **1969-09SeptB-0 YS/LJS DB Vol.5 No.4: Projet de résolution politique**

### **1969-09SeptC-0 Vol.5 No.2: Draft Anti-War Resolution (CEC)**

\*1969-SeptC-1 *On Education (I. Angus); On YSF (Arnie M.)*

### **1969-09septD-0 Vol.5 No.3: Résolution sur le mouvement anti-guerre**

**1969-09SeptEa Vol.5 No.4: Draft Quebec Resolution (CEC)**

1969-09SeptEb            “Recent Quebec history has seen a massive radicalization...”

**1969-09septF-0 LJS/YS (BI) Bulletin interne Vol.5 No.5: Sur le Québec**

1969-09septF-0b        **Résolution sur le Québec** (Final angophone proof)

\*1969-sept.            *Secteurs d'intervention (soumis par la tendance minoritaire)*

\*1969-Sept.            *Vol.5 No.5 Texts of the Minority Tendency: What Stage? (25pp)*

\*1969-10Oct            *Documents of the YS/LJS Montreal Convention: duplicates of Political Resolution, Quebec, Anti-war + Tendance Minoritaire*

\*1969-Oct            *DB Vol. 5 No. 5: What Stage have we arrived? (Minority Tendency) (file)*

\*1969-Oct            *Sectors of Intervention in the Coming Period (TM-Missing)*

\*1969-Oct            *Real issues in the Present Discussion (Walter B. -- missing)*

**1969-09SeptF-1 YS/LJS DB Vol. 5 No. 6 The Constitution**

\*1969-Oct-8            *DB-8: On the invasion of Czechoslovakia (on file—Nat.Arch.)*

**1969-09SeptG YS/LJS DB Vol.5 No. 4 CEC draft Quebec Resolution**

1969-09SeptGb        Draft Quebec Resolution submitted by CEC of the YS/LJS

**1969-98-Ha (undated) YS/LJS DB Vol. 5 No. 7**

**1969-99a (Undated, found in 1969) Loose documents in Vol. 5 No. 7**

\*1969-            *YS/LJS DB Vol. 5 No. 8 Two opposition documents 1) (against YS oppositon to) The invasion of Czechoslovakia; 2) (Opposition) 'Manifesto for the 1969 YS Convention' (on file)*

**1970-00-1**            (Undated) **“For International discussion: Youth Radicalization”**

**1970-06JuneA-0 YS/LJS DB Vol.6 No.1: High School Report (CEC)**

1970-06JuneBa        Young Socialists in the High Schools (BC high school fraction)



\*(24ab) 1970-July      *The Product is Only as Good as the Theory -- Thesis of the Minority Tendency (11 pp), by M. Mill (on file)*

1970-11Nov-Women-0 Intro: Women's Liberation –Mary Trew

1970-11Nov-Women    Strategy for women's liberation

**1970-12décA-0 YS/LJS Vol.7 No.1: Le Defi de la Nouvelle Radicalisation**

**1970-12DecBa YS/LJS Vol.7 No. 1: Challenge of the New Radicalization**

(26b)1970-12DecC      *A Revolutionary Student Strategy (HOLD-draft-on file)*

1970-12DecC-18      p.-18 “Come to the convention – YS/LJS Directory (on file)

(26c)1970 - Vol. 7 No. 3    YS/LJS DB: How to select a leadership (JP Cannon) (on file)

(26d) 1970 Vol. 7 No. 7 YS/LJS DB: Trotskyism & the Atlantic Provinces, Problems of Building the YS in Winnipeg , Leadership of High School Movement (on file)

(26e) 1970 Vol. 7 No. 8 YS/LJS DB Constitutional amendments; On Young Socialist; The Simpson tour; Regional organizing, Problems of High School Movement, Toronto (on file)

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June 1969

# young socialists ligue des jeunes socialistes

## Discussion Bulletin

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# ys/ljs convention call

The Executive Council of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes has called a regular convention of the YS/LJS to be held on October 11, 12 and 13, 1969. It will take place in Montreal.

This will be the first regular convention of the YS/LJS since the founding convention of July, 1967. It will provide an opportunity for comrades from every part of the country to come together and discuss the program and activities of the movement, and to project the movement's political direction for the coming period.

The convention is the highest body of the YS/LJS. Its decisions are binding upon the movement as a whole, and the carrying out of these decisions is entrusted to the Executive Council, which is elected by the convention.

With the issuance of this call, the Central Executive Council opens the period of pre-convention discussion. Internal bulletins will be published by the Central Office, and these will be open to contributions by any YS/LJS member or groups of members on subjects which they wish to present for the consideration of the movement. The CEC proposes to draft resolutions, which, taken together, will constitute a proposed political line for the consideration of the convention. Discussion bulletins will be published in both English and French. The CEC may decide to make certain discussion bulletins open to the public. Otherwise, discussion should be limited to the membership of the YS/LJS.

All locals shall arrange adequate periods for oral discussion of the various points on the convention agenda. All line resolutions shall be submitted to a vote of the local at the conclusion of the discussion period.

A special convention assessment of \$5 for workers and \$3 for students shall be levied on every member to help cover the costs of the convention.

All locals shall be represented at the convention according to the numbers of members in good standing as of Sept. 11, 1969. According to the constitution, a member ceases to be in good standing after three months' consecutive non-payment of dues. Each local shall elect one delegate for each three members or major fraction thereof.

Delegates shall be elected on the basis of the discussion of overall policy. Where there is no division in the local, delegates shall be elected by the local as a whole. Delegates in this case must be elected by an absolute majority of members voting, and members shall be required to vote for a full slate.

Where there is a division in the local on overall policy, election of delegates shall be on the basis of proportional representation. Representation of tendencies shall be based on the vote on resolutions or statements made in writing and submitted to the local for a vote. Abstentions shall in no case count as votes. After a political division has been established, those voting each way will select in caucus their own delegates and report them to the local as a whole.

Locals may elect alternate delegates. When a full delegate is not present at a session of the convention, the local delegation will strike off an alternate to replace him with voice and vote. Otherwise, alternates will have consultative vote and no voice. Incumbent members of the Executive Council who are not elected as delegates from their locals and fraternal delegates shall have voice and consultative vote in all sessions. All YS/LJS members will be permitted to attend - in fact, they are urged to do so.

Locals organized after Sept. 11, 1969 are entitled to send fraternal delegates to the convention. Members recruited after Sept. 11, 1969, are entitled to voice in the local discussion, but no vote on resolutions, or in the selection of delegates. Members must be present and voting in person at the meeting where the election of delegates takes place, in order for their votes to be counted. The only exception is for members who are excused by the local for any unavoidable reason, and who send in an unambiguous written statement of their positions or choices for a full slate of candidates.

Members transferring from one local to another after Sept. 11, 1969, must vote in the local from which they are transferred.

#### APPENDIX - PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

The following table shows the modified proportional system to be followed if division occurs:

<u>Number of qualified members in the local</u>	<u>Total number of delegates</u>	<u>Minimum number of those voting for a minority to get:</u>		
		<u>1 delegate</u>	<u>2 delegates</u>	<u>3 delegates</u>
2-4	1	-#	-	-
5-7	2	1/3	-	-
8-10	3	1/4	-	-
11-13	4	1/5	2/5	-
14-16	5	1/6	1/3	-
17-19	6	1/7	2/7	3/7
3n-1 to 3n+1	n	1/n+1	2/n+1	3/n+1

(# - Where the local is entitled to an odd number of delegates and where the division in the voting is exactly equal, two delegates with  $\frac{1}{2}$  vote each will be elected).

In the event the local undergoes more than a two-way division, it will elect delegates on a directly proportional basis (i.e., in a local entitled to n delegates, at least 1/n fraction of qualified members must have voted for a position for that position to get a delegate.)



First I want to say a couple of things about Comrade Michel's summary remarks. It seems clear to me through the discussion that there are not wide differences here. There are certainly differences on the question of student unions and that will make a fruitful discussion in the upcoming pre-convention discussion period. But on our overall perspectives in the next period and our key tasks I think little separates us. It is important for us to realize that. It only confuses things to act as if there are differences where they don't really exist.

Now I want to say something about the discussion on the political report. The discussion was very valuable and showed a number of things. It showed in one area report after another that we are a force on the campuses. Last fall that was largely an orientation. But over the past year we carried that orientation out. The discussion also revealed our growing understanding of the campus and the student movement and how to work in it. That could only happen with the development of some roots in the student movement. The discussion showed that we are no longer merely oriented towards building an indigenously based Quebec movement...the fact is we have now done that and the task is now to go forward with our Quebec forces and add to them.

I was happy to see, too, that the discussion revealed a certain impatience. Now that we have begun to be a real and living part of the student movement comrades want the YS/LJS to move out on the campuses more aggressively and on a bigger scale. In this regard I particularly noted the comments of comrades Denis and Gilbert. Denis said in his contribution: "militants don't identify with any group so everything goes through the melting pot of the M.S.P. (mouvement syndical politique). We need to carry our own actions parallel to and not clashing with those of the M.S.P. The M.S.P.'s political limitations (exaggerated nationalism) is pushing towards action on our own account. We must be ready -- not just to pass out leaflets -- but to act!" And Gilbert said: "We must not limit ourselves to education and cadre building, even though these remain a priority, for the best way to do this is through action. This is what Michel means by his call for formation of L.I.S. sections and a service d'ordre (marshalls group)."

The main aim of these statements it seems to me is to pass over to independent YS/LJS initiatives on the campus. With that I agree wholeheartedly. For me the discussion revealed a growing confidence among us that we can handle opposition currents, move past them and get to where it really counts -- and that what I want to dwell on -- how to hook into the real force, the force beyond all the present organizations -- the growing numbers of independent radicalizing students. Whitton explained very well, I thought, some of the basic aspects of this. But I want to read from the document by Walter and I which states very clearly and carefully what our attitude is to both student unions and SDU-type formations (see pages 5 and 6.)

We used to talk about a vacuum on the left. We meant that in the student movement there was no solid deeply rooted obstacle which cannot be bypassed and instead must be gone through. In other words there is nothing in the student movement at all similar to the position which the NDP holds in the working class. There is no tendency or organization which can claim leadership in the student movement. When we can say that against a clear and obvious deepening and broadening radicalization among all Canadian students the possibilities before us come much more clearly into focus. The road is open for us to move out aggressively.

We know where the student movement must go and how it must struggle. We understand that struggles must have clearly defined, defensively formulated

slogans and demands, that the movement must be non-exclusionist, that during actions we aim for mass democratic decision-making meetings of all participants in the struggle. We know what we want and how to get it and we are willing to work inside, outside, with and beside any organization that agrees with us on any specific goal. The key thing is to know where you're going. That always makes it easier to know what you can and cannot do along the way. Who you can work with and who won't work with you, who to depend on and who not to depend on. While we fully believe that the student movement will continually forge and reforge broad representative structures through which to carry its struggle, we know that these will flow and change. That they will correspond to the political level of the movement. For us and for the student movement the key question is politics -- program. We know ours is the best and in a struggle to win the leadership of students, we know that that means above all winning hegemony for our politics -- the politics of revolutionary Marxism.

We want to return to the campuses next fall prepared to participate fully in the student struggle, to lead it wherever possible, to form united fronts with all who are willing to come along, but not to feel that we must wait for those too sectarian or ultra-left or whatever, to act. That is the way forward for us. That is the way we will win the leadership of students and bring them to the side of the Canadian working class and its vanguard.

June 30, 1969

# THE CANADIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT

by Gary P. and Walter B.

*(YS/LJS DB Vol. 5 No. 1 June 1969)*

Over the 1968-69 academic year, the student movement in Canada has undergone significant experiences, experiences which give revolutionary militants a deeper insight into the character of the movement, some of the lines along which it is likely to develop and our tasks in the student milieu.

I. The general atmosphere of anticipation and expectancy which pervaded a wide layer of students last fall, including the leading militants in both the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) and l'Union Générale des Étudiants du Québec (UGEQ), many of the student councils (AGEs in Quebec) and those in the "Students for a Democratic University" formations on some English campuses, must be viewed against the conditions of students in the neo-capitalist period and the big developments in the world revolutionary process. Neo-capitalism, by dramatically inducting hundreds of thousands of young people into higher education, opened the floodgates of rising expectations, at the same time ensnaring itself in brand-new contradictions and impasses, a general lack of space and facilities, development of the "multiversity" with its factory-like routine and bourgeois priorities in education, and especially, the worsening summer and permanent employment possibilities, due to the deepening difficulties of the world capitalist economy — ultimately all this leading to the creation of a student base potentially available for anti-capitalist actions against a bourgeois class possessing less and less maneuverability on the campuses of its own creation.

And accompanying these developments, great revolutionary explosions such as the Vietnamese Tet offensive in January of 1968, the May-June revolt in France and the Czech struggle for socialist democracy.

2. This climate, created by world capitalism, increasing economic difficulties and the heightened world revolutionary struggle, radicalized a layer of students in Canada before the opening of the school year. In English Canada, where a narrow layer was radicalized, this was reflected in the CUS Congress prior to the opening of the term. The radicals won control of the Union for the first time in its 32-year history. Nevertheless, although anti-capitalist positions found majority support, militancy far outstripped understanding of how to translate radical resolutions into a program of action capable of mobilizing CUS members. These resolutions remained passed in isolation from the mass of students and were filed in drawers — unexplained to students and unimplemented.

3. In Quebec, the national oppression of the Québécois is seen in the extreme sharpness of the major contradictions mentioned in the first paragraph. The Quebec government, having instituted one of the most radical educational reforms in recent history in the creation, in two years, of a network of 23 junior colleges (CEGEPs), found itself incapable of (or unwilling) to carry through the modernization of Quebec education, due to its comprador relationship to the imperialist interests which dominate Quebec. As a result, students were forced to use outmoded facilities and cramped quarters. They were deprived of the financial means of continuing their

education upon graduating from the CEGEPs. They faced the prospect of being "educated unemployed" in a province which suffers from the highest rate of general unemployment in Canada. Those who wanted to continue their education at university were turned away in thousands, because the French-language universities in Quebec had no room for them. By contrast, last fall, English students in Montreal had 21,000 university spaces available to them while the French students had only 18,000, whereas Montreal is majority French-speaking. Coupled with all the factors which radicalized English-Canadian students last fall, the existence of national oppression of the Québécois provided for a wider layer of radicalized youth in Quebec than in the rest of Canada, although this layer is generally radicalized on the more elementary level of opposition to national oppression.

The nationalism of the oppressed French-Canadian nation is a fundamentally progressive, anti-capitalist phenomenon. As we have pointed out, it has served to radicalize a wide layer of Quebec students and to provoke massive revolt against the particular forms of national oppression which they suffer. At the same time, the national question remains the key question for revolutionaries in the context of Canadian politics. More than any other issue in Canada, it serves to undermine the harmony and functioning of the Canadian state, unmasking the foundation of the Canadian confederation as built on national oppression and the denial of the democratic right of self-determination. It helps bring the world-wide struggle against imperialism sharply into focus on Canadian soil.

As in the case of the CUS Congress held at the same time, the Semaine Syndicale of UGEQ displayed the radicalization and the weakness of the Quebec student movement and its leadership. It was at the Semaine Syndicale that the first criticisms of the UGEQ leadership were leveled, generally at its passive posture in the past and its failure to carry its political positions to the general student body through programmatic election campaigns.

4. Although the effects of the 1968 radicalization were being simultaneously felt in both UGEQ and CUS, these effects had different results in the two movements, due to the difference in the tempo of development of the two sectors of the Canadian student movement. The fall elections to the CUS leadership marked a turn from liberalism to radicalism among CUS activists; they were now faced with the problem of how a radical leadership should carry out the politicization of a still passive student population. On the other hand, the UGEQ leadership had long been the domain of radicals, facing the same problem of a passive mass base. Having captured the leadership in a period of passivity, they now faced a rise in the militancy of the ranks, a general expectation that the new term would see a major explosion on Quebec's campuses. This was the question before the Semaine Syndicale — how to view the coming struggle. Already, the UGEQ leadership felt the militant criticism of its role as "information office" and "issuers of press releases".

The leadership of an organization of 60,000 students, accustomed to operate as an information office, issuing press releases to satisfy its radical soul, and having captured their positions in isolation from a passive base — such a leadership is severely tested when a general revolt breaks out. In October that revolt came — a massive rejection by 50,000 students of the crisis-ridden Quebec educational system — the occupation of the CEGEPs. And, at the moment of decisive need for leadership, the UGEQ leadership limited itself to ...issuing press releases. The policy



of the UGEQ leadership was one of absolute abstention from any role in the real struggle developing around them, coupled with verbal assurances of their "support" and "solidarity" with anyone who cared to ask them for it. Faced with the necessity of uniting the struggle on a national basis, of tying together the various centres of the struggle, they virtually assured the isolation of student militants and condemned UGEQ to an apparent sputtering death, declaring "we are not representative", "We cannot impose", etc.

Even with its extremely limited resources and lack of roots in the student milieu, our movement was capable of intervening energetically in the most important actions: we were the only political force which attempted to place a program and a course of action before the vast uprising. Our intervention was not at all insignificant; it earned us the public hatred of a leadership which had by now found a political theory to oppose to our concepts of vanguard action — the theory of "spontaneism" — essentially a theoretical apology for their capitulation.

Under the pressure of the Quebec government's threat to cancel the first term and with it the efforts and funds expended by all the students, the movement subsided. CEGEP administrations victimized dozens of militants, and is still victimizing them. Again we proposed a course of defensive struggle. Again UGEQ replied with too little too late. Struggle formations in the schools such as the Action Committees folded rapidly, being essentially rallying points of militant opposition to the UGEQ National Bureau, and the attempt to coordinate the work of the various Committees through a liaison committee was doomed to failure.

We say that UGEQ replied with too little too late. This impotence flowed from the shattered confidence of militants in the Union, and acted in turn to become a further cause of its decline. The decomposition pattern was well underway. Whereas our dynamic role won us considerable new student forces, the Quebec student movement as a whole suffered a setback. The occupation movement of October cannot be considered a "defeat" — it advanced to a level determined, in the final analysis, by the degree of maturity and experience of Quebec students. Defeat came in the period of general retreat, in the form of victimization, atomization, expulsion and the destruction of UGEQ — I.e., ultimately in the failure of the Quebec student leadership to carry forward the defensive struggle, basing itself on the gains of October, and rebuilding towards the next mass mobilization.

5. CUS followed a somewhat different route towards an almost parallel conclusion. After the congress, which had passed a number of good anti-capitalist resolutions, it did almost nothing to translate them into action. The capitalist press in article after article smeared CUS as an undemocratic and conspiratorial organization which in reality reflected the aims of a tiny minority of militants. CUS made only token efforts to respond, just as the UGEQ leadership never seriously attempted to elaborate its program and to educate students, in politics. By the middle of the first term, the referenda posing the question of individual campus membership in CUS were already underway. While student outbreaks in English Canada never reached the proportions this past year of the Quebec upsurge, there were a whole series of struggles around universal accessibility, inadequate facilities and campus complicity in the Vietnam war. CUS never led, offering nothing but token assistance in these struggles. For many ordinary students, it was difficult to understand why they should pay their annual dues to an organization which never did anything but issue radical proclamations. Yet the victories CUS won in the referenda, and the

consistently large minorities who supported CUS membership even when it lost, revealed the potential support which CUS could have mobilized and activated.

Thus in both English and French nations, the student unions suffered body blows which could have been avoided had it not been for their essentially paralyzed leaderships. In Quebec, the frustration of the militants became so intense at the March Congress of UGEQ that no force, including those who called for political unionism (which we supported) could hold the frayed cords together. A conference to be held in June to decide the fate of UGEQ did not occur. Except, for its tourist bureau, UGEQ does not, in fact, exist.

The militants in Quebec have thus proven incapable at present to cope with the official student organizations. In the agony of their contradiction between their profoundly felt need for mass mobilization against the whole educational system and their inability to develop a program and a means of action by which to accomplish that aim, they have partially allowed, partially pushed UGEQ to, in fact, temporarily dissolve.

The CUS Seminar and Rebuilding conference, held recently in Sudbury (*ON*) revealed problems of the same character, although in CUS they are not yet so profound and do not have to result in the same catastrophic ending for the student union. The radicals who took CUS over last Fall were never able to grasp the concept of transitional demands and for the most part were even opposed to this concept, and as New Leftists had opposed it for many years. Under pressure of the verbal assault mounted by the university administrators and the capitalist press, they had no concept of mobilizing students, and therefore saw no solution to their isolation.

The rebuilding conference revealed in its composition, that many radicals had given up CUS and turned for the time being towards work in the SDU formations. This group includes some who have been part of the structure of CUS. In Quebec, with the collapse of UGEQ a similar phenomenon took place, flowing out of the congress there has developed a heterogeneous and all-inclusive militant formation called Le Mouvement Syndicale Politique which aims to act as an action vanguard of the student movement in conscious opposition to the bankrupt UGEQ leadership. The CUS leadership did not face the trial by fire which October posed to the UGEQ leadership. Thus CUS has not suffered the same degree of disintegration. But the militants have been weakened in CUS and made political concessions to liberal rightward leaning students at the rebuilding conference. The conference took a more apolitical view of the union. Given this present course, and the continuing lack of understanding of how to rebuild CUS on a radical basis, it is difficult to see how the CUS can play a very important role in radical student struggles in the next period.

7. The important experiences of both CUS and UGEQ and particularly their decline, poses the question of the role of the official student organizations sharply. The spontaneists are willing to write these structures off. We will deal with them later, but first let us look at our position on this question. First, it is important to note a distinction between the unions (CUS and UGEQ) and the local student councils and AGEs. The unions exist on the base of the councils. They depend on their financial and programmatic support. But the councils can exist independently of the unions, thus providing a permanent basis for the resurgence of the unions at a later date and as the need is felt by a maturing student movement.

While in many countries the student unions have gone into decline at different times, the basic question is that in fact the unions did and do exist in so many countries. While students do not have nearly the homogeneous long-range interests of the working class, they do have sufficient material interests in common to result time after time in the formation of unions of students.

With the development of education under neo-capitalism these interests become more, not less, of a factor. To list some key common student problems: they need funds to finance an increasingly costly higher education; they need adequate facilities to live and study; they need the freedom to study and criticize without intervention either academic or in the form of *in loco parentis* rules; and they need adequate opportunities to utilize their education gainfully upon graduation.

These common student needs provide a basis for the existence of broad, defensive, representative student structures. These structures can range from the highly structured student unions based on local councils found in some advanced capitalist countries to "student Soviets" such as the National Strike Council in Mexico which was based on strike committee in individual schools. From the viewpoint of socialist students, these structures are therefore justified. But they offer even more. They are the one element of broadly representative continuity in a constantly shifting and changing milieu. They provide a more or less stable arena in which programmatic battles can be fought and lessons learned. They provide a meeting point for all factions, and have in fact been seen to play this role in several of the student struggles to date in both English Canada and Quebec.

Since we see that the movement's future lies in mass actions around defensively posed transitional demands, these structures loom large in our reckoning. Unlike the "spark" theorists, we take very seriously the organizations which democratically represent students as a whole. We see that we must aim to win hegemony in either these organizations or their successors.

The radicals in both English Canada and Quebec student movements have consistently confused the need, on the one hand, for broad representative student organizations, and on the other, for independent organizations of the militants. The predominant view in the MSP in Quebec and in many of the SDUs in English Canada is that loose formations of the militants are sufficient to lead the students. These structures attempt to play the role both of vanguard and broad student organization. Thus they fail utterly to come to grips with the student structures, e.g., the Toronto Student Movement refused even to contest the student council elections at U of T, and the MSP floundered at the last UGEQ congress, a majority of its members ending up abandoning the struggle they had led for three days to assume the leadership of UGEQ. On the other hand, they fail to come to grips with the real questions involved in building a vanguard organization.

The YS/LJS, on the other hand, already accepts the task of building an independent bolshevik youth organization. With that instrument in hand we can go forward to win support for posts both on student councils and in student unions. With our programme, organization, and consistent method of analysis we are capable of putting forward the transitional concepts necessary for the effective utilization of student unions by the left, which we have done energetically in the past, at CUS and UGEQ conferences. Many of the same radicals who have left UGEQ and CUS have moved into the SDUs (English Canada) and the MSP (Quebec). These

organizations are based on individual campuses and lack and bi-national or even national coordination. For the most part these organizations are very loose, heterogeneous and ad hoc in character. Generally all radical tendencies can and do participate in them. They represent the real weakness of all left currents on the campus. None of the major world tendencies have developed to the point where they have the forces to provide an effective leadership for student struggles—hence these formations.

(...In) most areas, the strongest tendencies - the Maoists and ourselves - participate actively in these structures. While we recognize the ephemeral and passing character of these organizations, we understand that they are an important arena of political debate. On campus after campus, these organizations will shatter into their component parts and one tendency or another will prevail. We therefore approach these groups with a view to working in them as clearly identified Young Socialists, winning support and recruits to our program and organisation. At the same time the inexperience and sectarianism in these groups leaves us both ample political elbow room and a clear responsibility to carry out a dynamic program of activities, including demonstrations, rallies, protests, election campaigns, etc. under the leadership of the YS/LJS.

An extremely important aspect of our campaign to establish the YS/LJS as the leading current in these groups and on the campuses is the establishment of our theoretical hegemony through the sale of our press, *YSF*, *JG* and the *Vanguard & La Lutte* - and books and pamphlets, and through participation in these debates. But there is no substitute for initiating and leading student struggles for student control over education. We must constantly look for opportunities to do this.

We see beyond the SDU type formations to the development of the radical movement on the campus and the resulting increase in the size and influence of political tendencies. And we aim to make sure that we are the tendency which is the biggest and most strategically placed. That means, very simply, utilizing all means inside and outside existing campus organizations to win new YS/LJSers, and the preparedness necessary to seize initiatives whenever they open.

Before us, in most advanced capitalist countries, we can see that our most serious and important competitor in the student movement is Maoism. Maoism has become a force on campuses right across English Canada over the past year. In Toronto, the predominant Maoist formation is the 'Canadian Party of Labor.' Over the past year it has worked consistently in the Toronto Student Movement to establish its spokesmen and create an exclusionist atmosphere with respect to Trotskyism. They have succeeded to far too great an extent over the past few months as a result of our inconsistent work in TSM. Sometimes we worked in the TSM, sometimes we pulled completely out. Recently we have begun consistent work in this milieu and the exclusionist atmosphere has begun to dissipate in the face of our forthright political attack on Stalinist policies.

The main Maoist Organization in other parts of the country is the Internationalists. They first appeared in Vancouver about two years ago. They disintegrated but re-established themselves in Montreal early this past academic year. They have now spread across English Canada with bookstores in at least Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto and a paper called *The Canadian Student*. In May they drew 80 students to a conference in Regina.

While CPL in Toronto has grown by regrouping many not-so-former new leftists, the

Internationalists have recruited new and fresh forces. They clearly have considerable financial resources and a more consistent Maoist outlook including a firm commitment to build their own movement.

What are the Maoists and how do we fight them? The Maoists represent a world-wide current basing itself in Canada on the wide support in the student left for the Chinese workers' republic (a wholly progressive factor) and to a lesser extent on support among student militants for Mao's cultural revolution which they see as anti-bureaucratic due to their lack of political education. More conjunctural factors include their loud proclamations of Marxism-Leninism, in which there is increasing interest, and their presentation to students of an idyllic view of workers much more palatable than the unvarnished truth which leads students smack up against the labor bureaucracy as an entrenched force and the reformist labor party. To a certain layer of students, the Maoist line of aggressive formulations, confrontation politics (at least in words) has an appeal because they want the revolution NOW!

The Maoists will not simply disappear — they must be combated politically by our movement. The main method of fighting Maoism is to carefully and patiently fight for our line in the student movement all the time. Their record on defence of the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions, their record of leading students into actions which leave them open to victimization and their defence of Stalinist methods of operation and Stalin himself, give us ample ammunition. We must remember to explain Stalinism to students because they do not automatically understand it. We must also remember to draw the lessons of Maoist escapades in the student movement because these are not automatically drawn by others. In the course of the developing struggles, both we and the Maoists will be tested. We must do our homework and not let them get away with anything. On French-Canadian campuses the Maoist tendency is equipped by and adapts itself somewhat to the spontaneist, anarchist currents which constitute our main ideological opposition. These currents reflect the relative weakness of the Marxist vanguard in the student milieu. We must distinguish between the spontaneism of the UGEQ leadership which was an apology for inaction, and that of many student militants who are merely ignorant of the historic and theoretical bankruptcy of this ideology.

We must continue to lead a vigorous opposition to this current, showing that it is both passive to await the spontaneous initiatives of the masses and bureaucratic to create these initiatives. We must point out that these initiatives don't lead us to victorious revolution without the conscious intervention of the vanguard. Our education of student militants on the historical and theoretical weakness of spontaneism leads to the practical problem of the role of the vanguard and ultimately must lead to the building of our own movement.

### **Our Tasks on Campus in the Next Period**

**Vietnam:** Defence of the Vietnamese revolution remains the first priority for revolutionary socialists. Over the past year we have been remiss in this respect and we must move to correct that situation. The April 6 demonstrations were generally the most successful yet held in Canada. Moreover, they were very largely student in their composition. Yet we have been satisfied to leave the direction and organization of the movement with respect to Trotskyist participation entirely in the hands of the League. To some extent this flowed from a creeping

sentiment in the YS/LJS that Vietnam had somehow outlived its usefulness as a radicalizing issue. This was expressed clearly in the Rands-Engler (*internal dissident*) tendency and its source is in the impatience and uncertainty of the campus milieu. We are the defenders of the Vietnamese revolution, and we must clearly identify ourselves as such. For us it matters little whether Vietnam is a "hot issue" (although April 6 showed that it is). Our policy to make anti-war work our top priority flows from the analysis of the world Trotskyist movement that Vietnam is today the focal point of the world-wide struggle between capitalism and socialism. As such, the outcome of that war is extremely important to the progress of the world revolution over the whole next period. It flows directly, therefore, from our view that the revolution is an integrated and world-wide revolution, that we must work to build a mass movement against U.S. aggression and Canadian complicity in the war.

Our concept of building a mass movement in the streets around clear slogans, "Withdraw U.S. Troops", "End Canadian Complicity", and "Vietnam to the Vietnamese", stands in sharp contrast to the verbiage about "explicit" anti-imperialist movements. The April 5 demonstration in Vancouver showed clearly what the worth of such sectarian politics is. On April 5 there were 400 demonstrators. On April 6, under our slogans, there were 3,000. We must work to re-establish and rejuvenate the CEWVs on campuses where they have declined. We must reassert Vietnam as a priority in our propaganda. We must reassert it as well in campus struggles around campus complicity. Particularly important in our work is our opposition to the counterrevolutionary use of Canadian troops.

**Defence:** Another key task before us is the more rounded development of our defence work. As the student struggle widens, the number of students and of our comrades victimized by university and state forces increases, the defence of these militants is necessary not only because of their individual contribution but because the movement must prove that it can defend itself in order to maintain its credibility and ultimately its viability in student eyes. No other radical current or formation understands defence work. Most think it is not possible to defend victims of capitalist justice, and many think it gains the student movement very little even if it is possible. The Maoists foster this view. We were the people who campaigned for the students victimized by both the Mexican government and the (*French*) deGaulle government. We tried to intervene both in the defence of the Sir George Williams students and the students victimized after the October struggle in Quebec. We were not able to convince the student organizations to carry the defence of these students seriously and we simply were not and are not able to replace the student movement in this respect.

In the (*Burnaby BC university*) Simon Fraser struggle we had comrades under the gun and our movement took a firm stand. We were for fighting the attacks. While the majority of the 114 capitulated, our comrades carried a principled line and have succeeded after long and difficult efforts in establishing a defence committee with wide sponsorship around the demand for full amnesty. A pamphlet and button have been produced and our movement across the country has begun to work to obtain sponsors and money. We want to carry through to the end those things which we set out to do and this defence case is one of them — a very important one.

**National Question** - The overall task of the LJS is to educate youth in the socialist perspective

of the national question. As the Trotskyist youth movement, and as leading advocates of the socialist perspective, the LJS must put forward the perspective of the revolutionary leadership of the working class in the national struggle, in terms of the immediate tasks at hand, namely the creation of the Quebec labor party. In putting forward this orientation, we provide the perspective for the opening up of the impasse of Quebec labor, nationalist, and student movements, and the basis of the struggle against the petty-bourgeois tendencies such as that of René Lévesque. It is the elementary duty of the LJS to educate youth in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, both in terms of the world revolution, and in terms of the strategic importance of fullest possible unity with the revolutionary forces of English Canada. The LJS must decisively intervene in and support the day-to-day struggles for national rights, and in particular the struggle for French unilingualism in Quebec, on the broadest level, and most specifically as this question affects student youth. We must explain and defend our support for this movement against the poisonous and false attitudes of the Stalinists (CP and Maoist) whose influence is most felt in the English Quebec milieu, and against the petty-bourgeois parliamentarism of Lévesque. We must assure that the movement remains single-issue and avoids the pitfall of electoralism, remaining a militant mass movement.

We must all be member of the LIS (Ligue d'Intégration Scolaire (*unilingualists*)) and where feasible take the initiative in developing and extending the movement. Where our movement has influence in French-Canadian communities outside Quebec, we should proceed along the general lines above, being sensitive to the tendency of many of these communities to feel dominated by Quebec. These feelings are often a reflection of genuine grievances. For example, the Acadian community is largely dominated by Quebec finance capital. Above all, we should recognize that these communities, by virtue of their real national oppression, are potential centres of the national struggle and important components of the Canadian revolution.

In English Canada, we should pay more attention to the active support of the national struggle. As with the black struggle in the US, the national struggle of the Québécois can be a key radicalizing factor for students throughout Canada. On this vital question of the Canadian revolution we alone are capable of carrying a revolutionary-socialist analysis and program of action - this work should demark us sharply from other left tendencies. Here are some suggestions:

a) We might organize speaking tours for Quebec comrades. Even more valuable would be teach-ins and seminars on French Canada organized by the YS, with full displays of our literature in French and English on the subject; b) Whenever possible we must initiate solidarity actions. The most striking form of such an action would be to picket a high Quebec government official when he visits English Canada. Imagine the shock this would produce — English-speaking supporters of the rights of French Canadians picketing a French Canadian cabinet minister in the heart of English Canada! Of course, we would be careful about our demands, limiting them to support for unilingualism, defence of victimized student militants, protests against police violence, etc. In addition, we can organize our forces to intervene in some of the numerous meetings that Rene Lévesque addresses in English Canada.

**Woman Question** - Recently we have seen the development on some English campuses of women's liberation groups. These groups are led by militant women students who are generally open to our class analysis of women's oppression under capitalism. Moreover, there exists in these groups a special openness to Trotskyists in contrast to many other student formations. This results from the bonds among conscious women students comparable in many ways to the bonds between blacks in the US. We must take an active role in these groups. Not only do we have a full program in the LSA/LSO and YS/LJS briefs to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, but we have leading, experienced women cadres who are spokesmen for our movement.

**Independent Activities:** We must move to expand the independent activities of the YS/LJS on the campus. The election campaigns for student council positions which some locals carried resulted in wide publicity and discussion of our views. Our line towards these campaigns has proven its value and we must move to generalize its application wherever possible. Moreover these campaigns illustrate the positive gains to be made through wider independent initiatives on our part. We have been the only force to consistently initiate struggles on the campus around the issue of Vietnam. We should now look for openings on issues which flow out of the bureaucratic and capitalist character of the university or junior college.

Some examples; trade union struggles which flow onto the campus, the woman question, limitation of the rights of racial or national minorities (as at Sir George Williams), violations of the democratic rights of students or other forces in society who are struggling against capitalist oppression, especially the rights of radical teachers and professors. Often we will find that we cannot wait for other forces on the campus to join us in the fight owing to political confusion or sectarianism on their part. We must be prepared to move out on our own leaving doors open for all who want to come in.

**Perspectives:** The student movement is clearly open, more and more, to socialist views, to Marxist and Leninist concepts. This was clear at the CUS seminar, it is clear from our tours and reports from across the country. This serves to bring home to us who the experts in this area really are. We have the best periodicals, the best books and pamphlets and the best people to educate students on Marx and Lenin because ....we are the Marxist-Leninists. We want to plunge full speed into these debates. We want to participate in them with the aim of establishing ourselves as the Marxist theorists of the student movement. This challenge to us is excellent for us. It provides an opportunity to intensify our internal education and for comrades to step up their personal reading and study. We want to be the best in the field of Marxism-Leninism in all its rich lessons. But one of our biggest tasks is to explain the ABCs of Marxism, to explain the problems before students in Marxist terms and how to solve them. Part of gaining a Marxist understanding for any student is to understand the nature and importance of the Vietnamese revolution and how to defend it, to understand the necessity and methods of defending victimized student radicals. Some other questions that are currently in need of explanation are - How do you formulate demands? How do you win wide support? What is the basic nature of capitalism, of imperialism, of the education system? But the most important practical question for any serious student is what kind of organization should Marxists build and what is its role? We bring to students interested in Marxism a clear analysis, a program ...and a combat



organization which is preparing itself to lead students across this country to the side of the working class under the leadership of the vanguard party, the nucleus of which is the LSA/LSO, to achieve workers power in this country. That is the key question.

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# Bulletin Interne

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1. "Le mouvement étudiant canadien".....par Gary P., Walter B.  
(adopté par la session plénière du CEC, le 1 juillet, 1969)

(B) 7pp.

2. Critique du document, "Le mouvement étudiant canadien", et  
projet de contre-thèses.....par Michel M.

## LE MOUVEMENT ÉTUDIANT CANADIEN (adopté par la session plénière du CEC, le 1 juillet 1969)

(Bulletin Interne – août 1969 – Vol. 5 No. 1 (Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/Young Socialists, par Gary P. et Walter B.

Durant l'année académique 1968-69, le mouvement étudiant au Canada est passé par des expériences significatives, expériences qui donnent aux militants révolutionnaires des éclaircissements plus approfondis sur le caractère du mouvement; selon quelles lignes il se développera probablement; quelles sont nos tâches dans le milieu étudiant.

Le climat général de prévisions pleines d'espoirs qui a envahi une large couche d'étudiants l'automne dernier — comprenant les militants dirigeants à la fois dans le CUS et l'UGEQ de nombreuses associations étudiantes (AGEs au Québec) et ceux des groupements de "Students for a Democratic University" (SDU) sur quelques campus anglais — doit être analysé face à la condition étudiante dans la période neo-capitaliste et face aux grands développements du processus révolutionnaire mondial. En amenant dramatiquement des centaines de millions des jeunes gens à l'éducation supérieure, le neo-capitalisme a provoqué une vague d'espoirs montants, en même temps qu'il s'empêtrait dans de toutes nouvelles contradictions et impasses: le développement de la "multi-versité" avec sa routine d'usine et ses priorités bourgeoises dans l'éducation, le manque général de locaux et d'équipement, et plus spécialement, la possibilité de plus en plus réduite de trouver un emploi d'été ou permanent, due aux difficultés croissantes de l'économie capitaliste mondiale; tout ceci entraîne la création d'une nouvelle base étudiante de masse, disponible potentiellement pour des actions anti-capitalistes contre la classe bourgeoise dont la capacité de manœuvre est de plus en plus réduite sur les campus de sa propre création. Et, accompagnant ces développements, de grandes explosions révolutionnaires telles que l'offensive de Tet en Janvier '68 (*Vietnam*), la révolte de mai-juin en France, et la lutte des Tchécoslovaques pour une démocratie socialiste.

Ce climat, crée par les difficultés économiques croissantes du capitalisme mondial et l'élévation de la lutte révolutionnaire mondiale, a radicalisé une couche d'étudiants au Canada avant le début de l'année scolaire. Au Canada anglais, ou une mince couche se radicalisa, on en vit le reflet au congrès de CUS avant le début du semestre: les radicaux ont pris le contrôle de l'Union pour la première fois dans ses 32 années d'histoire. Néanmoins, bien que les positions anti-capitalistes aient eu l'appui de la majorité, le militantisme dépassait de loin la compréhension des moyens par lesquels transporter des résolutions radicales dans un programme d'action capable de mobiliser les membres de CUS. Ces résolutions furent votées à l'ignorance de la masse des étudiants et remplirent les tiroirs, sans être expliquées aux étudiants et sans être mises à l'exécution

Au Québec, l'oppression nationale des Québécois se perçoit dans l'acuité des contradictions majeures mentionnées dans le premier paragraphe. Le gouvernement québécois, après l'institution d'une des plus radicales réformes de l'éducation dans l'histoire récente, en créant, en 2 ans un réseau de 23 Cégeps, se trouve incapable (ou refuse) d'achever la modernisation de l'éducation au Québec, ce qui découle de ses

relations-compradores avec les intérêts impérialistes qui dominent le Québec. En conséquence, les étudiants ont été obligés d'employer des locaux désuets et un équipement archaïque. Ils étaient privés des moyens financiers de continuer leurs études; sortant diplômés des Cégeps, ils se trouvaient devant la perspective d'être des 'chômeurs-instruits' dans une province qui souffre du taux le plus élevé de chômage général au Canada. Ceux qui voulaient continuer leurs études à l'université étaient refusés par milliers, les universités francophones au Québec n'ayant pas de place pour eux. Par contraste l'automne dernier, les étudiants anglophones de Montréal disposaient de 21,000 places à l'université, les étudiants francophones de 18,000 seulement, alors que Montréal est à majorité francophone.

Ajoutée à tous les facteurs qui ont radicalisé les étudiants canadiens-anglais l'automne dernier, l'existence de l'oppression nationale des québécois a contribué à la formation d'une couche plus large de jeunes radicalisés au Québec que dans le reste du Canada, bien que cette couche soit généralement radicalisée au niveau plus élémentaire d'opposition à l'oppression nationale.

Le nationalisme de la nation opprimée canadienne-française est un phénomène fondamentalement progressiste, anti-capitaliste. Comme nous l'avons montré, il a servi à radicaliser une large couche d'étudiants québécois et à provoquer une révolte massive contre les formes particulières de l'oppression nationale dont ils souffrent. En même temps, la question nationale reste la question clef des révolutionnaires dans le contexte politique canadien. Plus que toute autre question au Canada, elle sert à miner l'harmonie et le fonctionnement de l'État canadien, à démasquer le fait que la confédération canadienne a été fondée sur l'oppression nationale et le refus du droit démocratique à l'auto-détermination. Elle contribue à porter la lutte mondiale contre l'impérialisme avec acuité sur le sol canadien.

Comme pour le congrès du CUS tenu à la même époque, la semaine syndicale de l'UGEQ a dévoilé la radicalisation et la faiblesse du mouvement étudiant québécois et de son leadership. C'est à la semaine syndicale que furent soulevées les premières critiques contre la direction de l'UGEQ généralement sur son attitude passive dans le passé et sur le fait qu'elle n'a jamais porté ses positions politiques à l'ensemble du corps étudiant au moyen de campagnes électorales sur programme.

Bien que les effets de la radicalisation de 1968 aient été ressentis simultanément à la fois à l'UGEQ et au CUS, ces effets eurent des résultats différents dans les deux mouvements, conséquemment à la différence de rythme du développement des deux secteurs du mouvement étudiant canadien. Les élections de l'automne au leadership du CUS marquèrent un tournant du libéralisme au radicalisme chez les militants du CUS; ils avaient alors à faire face à ce problème: comment une direction radicale pourrait achever la politisation d'une population étudiante encore passive. D'autre part, la direction de l'UGEQ a été longtemps le domaine des radicaux confrontée au même problème d'une base de masse passive. S'étant emparé de la direction dans une période de passivité, ils se trouvaient maintenant aux prises avec l'éveil des militants de la base, l'attente générale que le nouveau semestre verrait une explosion majeure sur les campus québécois. Tel était le problème devant la semaine syndicale: comment s'envisager la lutte imminente. Déjà, la direction de l'UGEQ subissait les critiques militantes sur son rôle de «bureau d'information» et "d'émetteur de communiqués de presse". Le leadership d'une organisation de 60,000 étudiants habitué à fonctionner comme un bureau d'information, émettant des communiqués de presse pour satisfaire son âme radicale, et ayant établi ses

positions, isolé d'une base passive – un tel leadership subit un test sévère quand une révolte générale éclate. Cette révolte se produisit en octobre: 50,000 étudiants rejetèrent le système d'éducation québécois en crise par l'occupation des Cegeps. Et alors que se faisait sentir le besoin décisif d'un leadership, le leadership de l'UGEQ s'est contenté d'émettre des communiqués de presse! La politique du leadership de l'UGEQ était de s'abstenir totalement de tout rôle dans la lutte réelle se développant autour de lui, tout en affirmant verbalement "appui" et "solidarité" avec tous ceux qui se souciaient de le lui demander. Face à la nécessité d'unir la lutte sur une base nationale, de coordonner les différents centres de la lutte, ils ont en fait assuré l'isolement des militants étudiants et ont condamné l'UGEQ à une mort manifeste, bredouillant: "nous ne sommes pas représentatifs," "il ne faut rien imposer", etc.

Même avec ses ressources extrêmement limitées, et son manque de racines dans le milieu étudiant, notre mouvement fut capable d'intervenir énergiquement dans les actions les plus importantes: nous étions la seule force politique à tenter de présenter un programme et une ligne d'action devant ce vaste soulèvement. Notre intervention ne fut pas insignifiante: elle nous a valu la haine publique d'une direction qui venait de trouver une théorie politique à opposer à nos conceptions d'actions d'avant-garde - la théorie du "spontanéisme" – essentiellement une apologie théorique de leur capitulation.

Sous la pression de la menace gouvernementale d'annuler le premier semestre et par là, les efforts et les fonds dépensés par tous les étudiants, le mouvement s'est affaîssi. Les administrations des CEGEPs réprimèrent des dizaines d'étudiants, et les réprimant encore. Encore une fois nous proposons une ligne de lutte défensive. Encore une fois l'UGEQ répond trop peu, trop tard. Des groupes de lutte dans les écoles, tels que le CA s'effondrèrent rapidement, eux qui constituaient essentiellement les points de ralliement de l'opposition militante contre le bureau national de l'UGEQ, et la tentative de coordonner le travail des divers comités à travers un comité de liaison fut vouée à l'échec.

Nous disons que l'UGEQ a répondu trop peu, trop tard. Cette impuissance découlait de la confiance effritée des militants dans l'Union et devint une cause supplémentaire de son déclin. Le processus de sa décomposition commençait. Alors que notre rôle dynamique nous attira des effectifs considérables et nouveaux d'étudiants, l'ensemble du mouvement étudiant au Québec subit un revers. Le mouvement d'occupation d'octobre ne peut pas être considéré comme une défaite — il s'est élevé à un niveau déterminé en dernière analyse, par le degré de maturité et d'expérience des étudiants québécois. La défaite est venue dans la période de retraite générale, sous la forme de répression, d'atomisation, d'expulsion et de la destruction de l'UGEQ; c'est-à-dire finalement, la faillite totale du leadership étudiant du Québec qui n'a pas su faire avancer la lutte défensive, en se basant sur les conquêtes d'octobre, et en reconstruisant le mouvement en vue de la prochaine mobilisation de masse.

Le CUS a suivi une route quelque peu différente vers une conclusion presque parallèle. Après le congrès qui avait fait passer nombre de bonnes résolutions anti-capitalistes, il n'a à peu près rien fait pour les traduire en action. La presse capitaliste, article après article, salissait le CUS, le qualifiant d'organisation non démocratique et conspiratrice qui ne reflétait en fait que les buts d'une toute petite minorité de militants. Le CUS fit seulement

des efforts symboliques pour répondre exactement de même que la direction de l'UGEQ n'a jamais essayé d'élaborer son programme et de faire l'éducation politique des étudiants. Au milieu du premier semestre, les référendums posant la question de l'adhésion individuelle des campus au CUS étaient déjà entamés. Alors que les révoltes étudiantes au Canada anglais n'atteignirent jamais cette année les proportions du soulèvement québécois, il y eut toute une série de luttes autour de l'accessibilité générale, de l'équipement inadéquat et de la complicité des campus dans la guerre vietnamienne. Le CUS n'a jamais donné de direction, n'offrant rien d'autre qu'une aide symbolique dans ces luttes. Beaucoup d'étudiants moyens avaient du mal à comprendre pourquoi ils devraient payer leur cotisation annuelle à une organisation qui n'avait jamais fait autre chose que des proclamations radicales. Cependant les victoires remportées par le CUS dans les référendums et la continuelle vaste minorité qui appuyaient la direction du CUS même quand il avait perdu ont révélé l'appui potentiel que le CUS aurait pu mobiliser.

Ainsi, dans les deux nations, canadienne anglaise et canadienne française, les syndicats étudiants ont encaissé des coups qui auraient pu être évités, si ce n'eut été essentiellement de leur leadership paralysé. Au Québec, la frustration des militants devint si intense au congrès de l'UGEQ, en mars, qu'aucune force – y compris ceux qui appelaient à un syndicalisme politique (que nous soutenions - ne pouvait se gagner la direction et faire (l'unité) l'Union. La session qui devait se tenir en juin pour décider du destin de l'UGEQ n'eut pas lieu. A part son bureau de tourisme, l'UGEQ, en fait, n'existe pas.

Les militants québécois se sont ainsi montrés incapables actuellement d'être aux prises avec les organisations étudiantes officielles. Au point le plus ultime des contradictions entre leur besoin profondément ressenti d'une mobilisation de masse contre le système d'éducation tout entier, et leur incapacité à développer un programme et des moyens d'action pour atteindre ce but, ils ont en partie permis, en partie poussé l'UGEQ à, en fait, se dissoudre temporairement.

Le Séminaire du CUS et la conférence de reconstruction tenus récemment à Sudbury ont révélé des problèmes de caractère identique, bien que dans le CUS, ils ne soient pas cependant aussi profonds, et qu'ils ne doivent pas nécessairement aboutir à la même fin catastrophique pour le syndicat étudiant. Les radicaux qui se sont emparés du CUS, l'automne dernier, n'ont jamais été capables de saisir le concept de revendications transitoires, et pour la plupart étaient même opposés à ce concept, et en tant que nouvelle-gauche s'y étaient opposés depuis de nombreuses années. Sous la pression de l'assaut verbal monté par les administrateurs de l'Université et la presse capitaliste, ils n'avaient aucune notion de comment mobiliser les étudiants, et par conséquent ne trouvèrent aucune solution à leur isolement.

La conférence de reconstruction a révélé par ses participants que de nombreux radicaux avaient quitté le CUS et s'étaient tournés à ce moment vers le travail dans les groupes du SDU. Ces groupes comprennent quelques membres qui ont été des cadres du CUS. Au Québec, l'effondrement de l'UGEQ causa le même phénomène. Découlant du congrès s'est développée un groupement militant, hétérogène et ouverte à tous, appelé le Mouvement Syndical Politique, qui se donne pour but de mener une action d'avant-garde dans le mouvement étudiant, contre-courant consciemment la direction en déroute de l'UGEQ. Le leadership du CUS n'a pas traversé l'épreuve du feu qu'octobre a imposée au

leadership de l'UGEQ. Ainsi, le CUS ne s'est pas désintégré au même degré. Mais les militants du CUS ont été affaiblis, et firent des concessions politiques aux étudiants droitiers libéraux à la conférence de reconstruction. La conférence envisagea le syndicat dans une perspective plus apolitique. Etant donné le développement actuel, et le fait qu'on ne comprend toujours pas comment reconstruire le CUS sur une base radicale, on voit difficilement comment le CUS peut jouer un rôle très important dans les luttes étudiantes dans la prochaine période.

Les importantes expériences du CUS et de l'UGEQ, et particulièrement leur déclin, posent, de façon aiguë la question du rôle des organisations étudiantes officielles. Les spontanéistes sont prêts à rayer ces structures. Nous aborderons leurs positions plus tard; examinons d'abord notre position sur la question. D'abord, il est important de faire la distinction entre les syndicats (CUS et UGEQ) et les associations étudiantes locales et AGEs. Les syndicats ont pour base les associations. Ils dépendent de leur appui financier et programmatique. Mais les associations peuvent exister indépendamment des syndicats, constituant ainsi une base permanente pour la renaissance des syndicats à une date ultérieure et quand le besoin s'en fera sentir par un mouvement étudiant plus mûr. Alors que dans beaucoup de pays les syndicats étudiants ont connu un déclin à des époques différentes, la constatation fondamentale est en fait que les syndicats ont existé et existent encore dans tant de pays. Alors que les étudiants n'ont guère les intérêts homogènes à long terme de la classe ouvrière, ils ont suffisamment d'intérêts matériels en commun pour toujours aboutir à nouveau à la formation de syndicats étudiants. Avec le développement de l'éducation sous le néo-capitalisme, ces intérêts deviennent plus importants et non pas moins importants. Pour citer quelques uns des problèmes-clé communs à tous les étudiants: le besoin de fonds pour financer une éducation de plus en plus coûteuse; le besoin de moyens adéquats pour vivre et étudier; le besoin de la liberté d'études et de critique sans intervention ou académique ou sous la forme de règlements in loco parentis; le besoin de possibilités adéquates d'utiliser leur instruction rentablement après avoir gradué.

Les besoins communs des étudiants fournissent la base à l'existence de ces structures étudiantes larges, défensives et représentatives. Les structures peuvent aller de syndicats étudiants hautement structurés basés sur les associations locales, que l'on trouve dans quelques pays capitalistes avancés, aux "soviets étudiants" tel le Conseil National de Grève au Mexique qui était basé sur les comités de grève dans les différentes écoles. Du point de vue des étudiants socialistes, ces structures sont par conséquent justifiées. Mais elles offrent encore plus. Elles sont le seul élément d'une continuité largement représentative dans un milieu en constant glissement et changement. Elles constituent une arène plus ou moins stable où l'on peut mener des batailles de programme et apprendre des leçons. Elles constituent un point de ralliement pour toutes les factions et on les a vues effectivement jouer ce rôle dans plusieurs des luttes étudiantes à date au Canada anglais et au Québec.

Puisque nous voyons que l'avenir du mouvement réside dans des actions de masse autour de revendications transitoires formulées défensivement, ces structures jouent un très grand rôle dans notre évaluation. A la différence des théoriciens de "l'étincelle" nous prenons très au sérieux les organisations qui représentent démocratiquement les étudiants

dans leur ensemble. Nous voyons que nous devons viser à gagner l'hégémonie, soit dans ces organisations, soit dans leurs successeurs.

Les radicaux des mouvements étudiants canadiens-anglais et québécois ont conséquemment confondu le besoin d'une part, d'organisations étudiantes larges, représentatives, d'autre part d'organisations indépendantes, de militants. La perspective essentielle du MSP au Québec et de beaucoup de SDU au Canada anglais est que les formations vagues de militants sont suffisantes pour diriger les étudiants. Ces structures tentent de jouer le rôle à la fois d'avant-garde et de large organisation étudiante. Ainsi ils n'arrivent pas à aborder correctement des structures étudiantes; par exemple le Toronto Student Movement a même refusé de contester les élections à l'association de l'U. de T. et le MSP a pataugé au dernier congrès de l'UGEQ - une majorité de ses membres finissant par abandonner la lutte qu'ils avaient menée pendant 3 jours pour assumer la direction de l'UGEQ. D'autre part, ils n'arrivent pas à trancher les réelles questions impliquées dans la construction d'une organisation d'avant-garde.

Le YS/LJS, d'autre part, accepte déjà la tâche de construire une organisation de jeunesse bolchévique indépendante. Avec cet outil, nous pouvons aller de l'avant et gagner des postes dans les associations étudiantes et dans les syndicats étudiants. Avec notre programme, notre organisation et notre méthode conséquente analyse, nous pouvons mettre de l'avant les concepts de transition nécessaires à l'utilisation efficace des syndicats étudiants par la gauche, ce que nous avons fait énergiquement dans le passé, aux conférences du CUS et de l'UGEQ.

Beaucoup de ces mêmes radicaux qui ont quitté l'UGEQ et le CUS sont entrés dans les SDU (Canada anglais) et le MSP (Québec). Ces organisations sont basées sur chaque campus et manquent complètement de coordination binationale ou même nationale. Pour la plupart, ces organisations sont très vagues, hétérogènes et de caractère ad hoc. Généralement toutes les tendances radicales peuvent y participer et le font. Elles représentent la réelle faiblesse de tous les courants de gauche sur le campus. Aucune des tendances majeures ne s'est développée au point d'avoir les forces suffisantes pour procurer un leadership efficace aux luttes étudiantes, d'où ces groupements.

Dans de nombreux endroits, les plus fortes tendances, les maoïstes et nous-mêmes, participent activement à ces structures. Alors que nous reconnaissons le caractère éphémère de ces organisations, nous comprenons qu'elles sont un champ important pour des débats politiques. Campus après campus, ces organisations s'émietteront en leurs composantes et une tendance ou une autre l'emportera. Par conséquent, nous approchons ces groupements avec l'idée de travailler à l'intérieur en nous identifiant clairement comme Jeunes Socialistes, gagnant des sympathisants et des recrues à notre programme et à notre organisation. En même temps, l'inexpérience et le sectarisme de ces groupes nous laissent le champ libre sur le plan politique et la claire responsabilité de faire aboutir un programme dynamique d'activités, comprenant manifestations, rallyes, protestations, campagnes électorales, etc., sous le leadership de la YS/LJS.

Un aspect extrêmement important de notre campagne pour établir la YS/LJS comme le courant dirigeant dans ces groupes et sur les campus est l'établissement de notre hégémonie théorique par la vente de notre littérature -- le *YSF*, *JG (Jeune Garde)* et le (*Workers' Vanguard*) et la *Lutte Ouvrière* -- de livres et pamphlets, et par la participation aux débats. Mais rien ne peut remplacer la prise de l'initiative et de la tête des luttes étudiantes pour le contrôle étudiant de l'éducation. Nous devons constamment chercher les occasions de le faire. Nous voyons à travers les groupements de type SDU le développement du mouvement radical sur les campus et ce qui en résulte: l'accroissement de la grandeur et de l'influence des tendances politiques. Et nous visons à nous affirmer comme la tendance la plus grande et le lieux placée stratégiquement. Cela signifie, tout simplement, l'utilisation de tous les moyens à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des organisations



existant sur les campus, pour gagner de nouveaux membres YS/LJS et la préparation nécessaire pour prendre des initiatives, où qu'elles se présentent.

Avant nous, dans la plupart des pays capitalistes avancés, on peut voir que notre plus sérieux et plus important concurrent dans le mouvement étudiant est le maoïsme. Le maoïsme est devenu une force sur les campus à travers tout le Canada-anglais l'année passée. A Toronto, la formation maoïste prédominante est le "Parti Canadien du Travail". Durant l'année dernière, il a travaillé solidement dans le Toronto Student Movement pour établir ses porte-paroles et créer une atmosphère d'exclusion à l'égard du trotskysme. Ils ont réussi une expansion de loin bien trop grande durant les mois passés, résultant de notre travail inconsistant dans le TSM. Parfois nous avons travaillé dans le TSM parfois nous nous en sommes complètement retirés. Récemment nous avons commencé un travail conséquent dans ce milieu et l'atmosphère d'exclusion a commencé à se dissiper face à nos attaques politiques directes de la politique stalinienne.

La principale organisation maoïste dans les autres parties du pays est les Internationalistes. Ils sont d'abord apparus à Vancouver, il y a environ deux ans. Ils se sont désintégrés puis se sont rétablis à Montréal au tout début de cette dernière année académique. Ils se sont maintenant étendus à travers le Canada-anglais avec des librairies, du moins à Montréal, Ottawa et Toronto, et avec un journal appelé *l'Etudiant Canadien*. En mai, ils ont tenu une conférence de 80 étudiants à Regina.

Alors que le CPL de Toronto s'est agrandi par le regroupement de beaucoup d'anciens membres de la nouvelle gauche, les Internationalistes ont recruté des forces nouvelles et fraîches! C'est clair qu'ils ont des ressources financières considérables, et une perspective maoïste plus conséquente s'engageant fermement à construire leur propre mouvement.

Que sont les maoïstes et comment les combattre? Les maoïstes représentent un courant mondial se basant au Canada sur le large appui de la gauche étudiante à la République Populaire Chinoise (facteur totalement progressiste) et, à un moindre degré à l'appui des militants étudiants à la révolution culturelle de Mao qu'ils voient comme un phénomène anti-bureaucratique - ce qui est dû à leur manque d'éducation politique. Des facteurs plus conjoncturels sont leurs fortes déclarations de Marxisme-Léninisme, pour lequel l'intérêt augmente, et leur présentation aux étudiants d'une vue idyllique des travailleurs, bien plus alléchante que la vérité sans vernis qui conduit les étudiants à se heurter à la bureaucratie ouvrière comme force retranchée et au parti ouvrier réformiste. Pour une certaine couche d'étudiants, la ligne maoïste et ses formulations agressives, la politique d'affrontements (du moins en parole) trouve un écho parce qu'ils veulent la révolution MAINTENANT!

Les maoïstes ne vont pas simplement disparaître; notre mouvement doit les combattre politiquement. La principale méthode pour combattre le maoïsme est de combattre soigneusement et patiemment pour notre ligne dans le mouvement étudiant à chaque instant. Leur histoire dans la défense des révolutions vietnamienne et cubaine, leur histoire dans la direction des étudiants dans des luttes qui les laissent à la merci de la répression, et leur défense des méthodes stalinienne d'action, et de Staline lui-même, font de bonnes cibles. Nous ne devons pas oublier d'expliquer le stalinisme aux étudiants parce qu'ils ne le comprennent pas automatiquement. Nous devons aussi ne pas oublier de tirer les leçons des exploits maoïstes dans le mouvement étudiant parce que les autres n'en tirent pas automatiquement les leçons. Au cours du développement des luttes nous et les maoïstes seront testés. Nous devons faire nos devoirs et ne rien leur laisser remporter.

Sur les campus canadiens-français, la tendance maoïste est éclipsée et s'adapte quelque

peu aux courants spontanéistes, anarchiste, qui constituent notre principale opposition idéologique. Ces courants reflètent la faiblesse relative de l'avant-garde marxiste dans le milieu étudiant. Nous devons distinguer entre le spontanéisme de leadership de l'UGEQ, qui est une apologie, de l'inaction et celui de beaucoup de militants étudiants qui simplement ignorent la banqueroute historique et théorique de cette idéologie.

Nous devons continuer à mener une opposition rigoureuse à ce courant, en montrant qu'il est à la fois passif d'attendre les initiatives spontanées des masses, et bureaucratique de créer ces initiatives. Nous devons montrer que ces initiatives ne nous mènent pas à la victoire de la révolution sans l'intervention consciente de l'avant-garde. Notre éducation des militants étudiants sur la faiblesse historique et théorique du spontanéisme conduit au problème pratique du rôle de l'avant-garde, et finalement doit conduire à la construction de notre propre mouvement.

### **Nos tâches sur le campus dans la prochaine période.**

Vietnam: la défense de la révolution vietnamienne reste la première priorité pour les socialistes révolutionnaires. L'année dernière, nous avons négligé cet aspect, et nous devons corriger cette situation. Les manifestations du 6 avril ont remporté plus de succès que jamais au Canada. De plus, elles étaient très largement étudiantes dans leur composition. Cependant, nous avons été satisfaits de laisser la direction et l'organisation du mouvement, quant à la participation trotskiste, aux mains de la LSO/LSA. Jusqu'à un certain point, cela découlait du sentiment croissant dans la YS/LJS que le Vietnam a généralement perdu son utilité comme question radicalisante. Ceci fut clairement exprimé dans la tendance Rands-Engler et trouve sa source dans l'impatience et l'incertitude du campus.

Nous sommes les défenseurs de la révolution vietnamienne et nous devons clairement nous identifier comme tels. (Il nous importe peu) que la Vietnam soit une "question brûlante" (bien que le 6 avril ait montré que ça l'est) - Notre politique de faire du travail anti-guerre, notre priorité essentielle découle de l'analyse du mouvement trotskiste mondial: le Vietnam est aujourd'hui le point central de la lutte mondiale entre le socialisme et le capitalisme. Comme tel l'issue de cette guerre est extrêmement importante pour le progrès de la révolution mondiale dans toute la prochaine période. Il découle directement, par conséquent, de notre perspective, que la révolution est une révolution intégrée et à l'échelle mondiale, que nous devons travailler à la construction d'un mouvement de masse contre l'agression américaine et la complicité canadienne.

Notre concept de construire un mouvement de masse dans la rue derrière des slogans clairs, "Retrait des troupes US", "Fin à la complicité canadienne", et "Vietnam aux Vietnamiens" contraste fortement avec le verbiage sur les mouvements explicitement anti-impérialistes. La manifestation du 5 avril à Vancouver a démontré clairement ce que vaut une telle politique sectaire. Le 5 avril, il y avait 400 manifestants. Le 6 avril, sous nos slogans il y en avait 3,000. Nous devons travailler à ré-établir et à faire revivre les comités anti-guerre sur les campus, où ils sont en déclin. Nous devons réaffirmer le Vietnam comme une priorité dans notre propagande. Nous devons aussi le réaffirmer dans les luttes sur les campus, autour de la complicité des campus. C'est un travail particulièrement important que notre opposition à l'utilisation contre-révolutionnaire des troupes canadiennes.

**Défense:** Une autre de nos tâches-clés est le développement plus poussé de notre travail de défense. A mesure que la lutte des étudiants s'élargit, le nombre d'étudiants et de nos camarades réprimés par l'Université et les forces d'Etat augmente. La défense de ces militants est nécessaire non seulement à cause de leur contribution individuelle, mais

parce que le mouvement doit prouver qu'il peut se défendre lui-même afin de maintenir son audience et finalement sa possibilité d'existence aux yeux des étudiants.

Aucun autre mouvement ou formation radicale ne comprend le travail de défense. La plupart pense qu'il est impossible de défendre les victimes du système capitaliste, et beaucoup pensent que cela apporte très peu au mouvement étudiant, même si c'est possible. C'est la thèse des maoïstes. C'est nous qui avons fait campagne pour les étudiants victimes du gouvernement mexicain et du gouvernement gaulliste. Nous avons essayé d'intervenir à la fois dans la défense des étudiants de Sir George Williams et des étudiants victimes de la répression après octobre. Nous n'avons pas pu convaincre les organisations étudiantes de prendre en charge sérieusement la défense de ces étudiants et simplement nous ne pouvions, ni ne pouvons prendre la place du mouvement étudiant à cet égard.

Dans la lutte de Simon Fraser, nous avions des camarades sous le feu et notre mouvement a pris une position ferme. Nous étions en faveur de combattre les attaques. Tandis que la majorité des 114 avaient capitulé, nos camarades ont adopté une ligne de principe et ont réussi après de longs et difficiles efforts à établir un comité de défense avec beaucoup de parrains autour de la demande d'amnistie totale. On a sorti un pamphlet et bouton et notre mouvement à travers le pays s'est mis à travailler pour obtenir des parrains et de l'argent. Nous voulons achever les choses que nous entreprenons et ce cas de dépense est l'une de celles-ci, et très importante.

**La question nationale:** La tâche primordiale de la LJS, est d'éduquer la jeunesse dans la perspective socialiste de la question nationale en tant que le mouvement de jeunesse trotskiste, en tant que porte-paroles le plus important de la perspective socialiste, la LJS doit avancer la perspective d'un leadership révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière dans la lutte nationale comme tâche immédiate, à savoir la création d'un parti ouvrier québécois. En mettant en avant cette orientation, nous assurons la perspective de l'ouverture de l'impasse dans laquelle se trouvent les mouvements étudiants nationalistes et ouvriers québécois, et nous fournissons la base de la lutte, contre les tendances petites-bourgeoises, telle que celle de René Lévesque.

C'est le devoir élémentaire de la LJS d'éduquer la jeunesse dans l'esprit de l'internationalisme prolétarienne à la fois sur le plan de la révolution mondiale et sur le plan de l'importance stratégique de l'unité la plus complète possible avec les forces révolutionnaires du Canada-anglais. La LJS doit intervenir décisivement et appuyer les luttes quotidiennes pour les droits nationaux, et en particulier la lutte pour l'unilinguisme français au Québec sur le niveau le plus large, et plus spécifiquement les répercussions de cette question sur la jeunesse étudiante. Nous devons expliquer et défendre notre appui à ce mouvement contre les positions fausses et nuisibles des stalinien (PC et maoïstes) dont l'influence se fait particulièrement sentir dans le milieu québécois anglophone, et contre le parlementarisme petit-bourgeois de Lévesque. Nous devons assurer que ce mouvement reste à but unique et évite le piège de l'électoratisme en restant un mouvement militant de masse. Nous devons tous être membres de la LIS (*Ligue d'intégration scolaire (pour le unilinguisme –ed.)*) et quand c'est faisable, prendre l'initiative de développer et d'étendre le mouvement: dans les communautés canadiennes-françaises à l'extérieur du Québec où notre mouvement a de l'influence, nous

devons agir selon les lignes générales ci-dessus tout en étant sensibles à la tendance de beaucoup de ces communautés à se sentir dominées par le Québec. Ces sentiments sont souvent le reflet de griefs véritables. Par exemple, la communauté acadienne est largement dominée par le capital financier du Québec. Avant tout, nous devons reconnaître que ces communautés à cause de leur oppression nationale, sont des centres potentiels de la lutte nationale et d'importantes composantes dans la révolution canadienne.

Au Canada-anglais, nous devons prêter davantage attention à l'appui actif à la lutte nationale. De même que la lutte noire aux US, la lutte nationale des Québécois peut être un facteur-clé de radicalisation pour les étudiants à travers le Canada. Sur cette question vitale de la révolution canadienne nous seuls sommes capables de porter une analyse socialiste révolutionnaire et un programme d'action – ce travail nous distingue nettement des autres tendances de gauche. Quelques suggestions:

- a) Nous pouvons organiser des tournées de conférences pour les camarades du Québec. Plus valable encore seraient des teach-in et des séminaires sur le Canada-français organisés par le YS en répandant toute notre littérature en français et en anglais sur le sujet.
- b) A chaque occasion, nous devons prendre l'initiative d'actions de solidarité. La forme la plus frappante de ce type d'actions serait de manifester lors de la visite au Canada-anglais d'un haut personnage officiel du gouvernement québécois. Imaginez le choc cela produirait: des anglophones soutenant les droits des canadiens-français qui manifestent contre un ministre du cabinet canadien-français en plein coeur du Canada-anglais! Bien sur nous serions prudents dans nos revendications, les limitant à l'appui à l'unilinguisme, à la défense contre la répression des étudiants, à la protestation contre la violence de la police, etc. En plus, nous pouvons nous organiser pour intervenir dans certains des nombreux meetings que René Lévesque tient au Canada-anglais.

**La question féminine:** récemment nous avons vu, sur quelques campus au Canada-anglais, le développement de groupes de libération des femmes. Ces groupes sont dirigés par des militantes étudiantes, généralement ouvertes à l'analyse de classe: de l'oppression des femmes sous le capitalisme. De plus, il existe dans ces groupes une ouverture spéciale vers le trotskisme, contrairement à beaucoup d'autres groupements étudiants. Ceci découle des liens qui unissent les étudiants conscientes, comparables en de nombreux points aux liens qui unissent les noirs aux E-U. Nous devons jouer un rôle actif dans ces groupes. Non seulement nous avons un programme complet de revendications dans la LSA/LSO et YS/LJS à porter devant l'Enquête Royale sur le Statut des Femmes, mais nous avons des cadres féminins dirigeants et expérimentés qui sont des porte-paroles de notre mouvement.

**Activités indépendantes:** Nous devons travailler à l'extension des activités indépendantes de la YS/LJS sur les campus. Les campagnes électorales pour des postes

aux associations étudiantes que quelques locaux ont entreprises nous ont valu une large publicité et la discussion de nos positions. Notre ligne envers ces campagnes a prouvé sa valeur et nous devons travailler à généraliser son application partout où c'est possible. De plus ces campagnes illustrent les gains positifs que l'on peut faire par le biais d'initiatives indépendantes plus larges de notre part. Nous avons été la seule force à commencer d'une manière conséquente des luttes sur le campus au sujet de la question vietnamienne.

Nous devons chercher maintenant des ouvertures sur des questions qui découlent du caractère bureaucratique et capitaliste de l'Université ou des CEGEPs. Quelques exemples des luttes syndicales qui atteignent les campus: la question féminine, la limitation des droits des minorités raciales ou nationales (comme à Sir George Williams), la violation des droits démocratiques des étudiants ou d'autres forces dans la société qui luttent contre l'oppression capitaliste, surtout les droits des enseignants et des professeurs radicaux.

Souvent nous trouverons que nous ne pouvons pas attendre que d'autres forces sur le campus se joignent à nous dans le combat à cause de leur confusion politique ou de leur sectarisme. Nous devons être prêts à agir nous-mêmes, laissant les portes ouvertes à tous ceux qui veulent y entrer.

**Perspectives:** Le mouvement étudiant est clairement ouvert, de plus en plus, aux idées socialistes, aux conceptions marxistes et léninistes. Ceci était clair au séminaire du CUS, ceci ressort clairement de nos tournées et de nos rapports à travers tout le pays. Ceci sert à nous montrer qui sont réellement les experts dans ce domaine. Nous avons les meilleurs périodiques, les meilleurs livres et brochures et les éléments les meilleurs pour éduquer les étudiants sur Marx et sur Lénine parce que nous sommes ...les Marxistes-Léninistes. Nous voulons nous précipiter à pleine vitesse dans ces débats. Nous voulons y participer avec le but de nous établir comme les théoriciens marxistes du mouvement étudiant. Ce défi qui nous est lancé est excellent pour nous. Cela nous donne l'occasion d'intensifier notre éducation interne et pour nos camarades d'avancer dans leurs lectures et études personnelles.

Nous voulons être les meilleurs dans le champ du Marxisme-Léninisme pour toutes ses riches leçons. Mais une de nos plus grosses tâches est d'expliquer l'a,b,c du marxisme, d'expliquer les problèmes aux étudiants en termes marxistes et la manière de les résoudre. Un des points pour acquérir une compréhension marxiste pour chaque étudiant, est de comprendre la nature et l'importance de la révolution vietnamienne et comment la défendre, de comprendre la nécessité et la méthode de défense des étudiants radicaux victimes de la répression. Quelques autres questions qui ont couramment besoin d'explication sont: comment formuler les revendications? Comment s'assurer un large appui? Quelle est la nature de base du capitalisme, de l'impérialisme, du système d'éducation? Mais la plus importante question pratique pour tout étudiant sérieux est: quelle sorte d'organisation doivent construire les Marxistes et quel est son rôle?

Nous apportons aux étudiants intéressés par le Marxisme une analyse claire, un programme et une organisation de combat qui se prépare à mener les étudiants dans ce pays aux côtés de la classe ouvrière, sous la direction du parti d'avant-garde dont la LSA-

LEO constitue le noyau pour réaliser le pouvoir ouvrier dans ce pays. Voilà la question-clef.

juin, 1969.

# Bulletin Interne

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## APPEL POUR LE CONGRES DE LA LJS/YS

Le Conseil exécutif de la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/Young Socialists a appelé a un congrès régulier de la LJS/YS qui se tiendra les 11, 12, et 13 Octobre 1969. Il aura lieu à Montréal.

Ce sera le premier congrès régulier de la LJS/YS depuis le congrès de fondation de juillet 1967. Cela donnera l'occasion aux camarades des deux parties du pays de se rencontrer et de discuter du programme et des activités politique du mouvement et d'établir la ligne politique du mouvement pour la période à venir.

Le congrès est le plus haut organe de la LJS/YS. Ses décisions engagent le mouvement dans son ensemble et l'application de ces décisions est confiée au Conseil exécutif qui est élu par le congrès.

A l'issue de cet appel le Conseil Exécutif Central ouvre la période de discussion pré-congrès. Des bulletins internes seront publiés par le Bureau Central et ceux-ci seront ouverts aux contributions de tout membre ou groupe de membres de la LJS/YS sur les sujets sur lesquels ils veulent faire porter l'attention du mouvement. Le CEC propose de tracer des résolutions qui rassemblées constitueront une proposition de ligne politique au congrès. Les bulletins de discussion seront publiés en anglais et en français. Il se peut que le CEC décide de rendre certains bulletins de discussion publics. Autrement la discussion se limitera aux membres de la LJS/YS.

Toutes les sections locales organiseront des périodes réservées à la discussion orale des différents points à l'ordre du jour du Congrès. Toute résolution portant une certaine ligne sera soumise à un vote de la section à la fin de la période de discussion.

Une cotisation spéciale de congrès sera perçue de chaque membre (\$5 pour les travailleurs et \$3 pour les étudiants) pour aider à couvrir les frais du congrès.

Toutes les sections seront représentées au Congrès d'après le nombre des membres en règle à date du 11 septembre 1969. Selon la constitution tout membre cesse d'être en règle après trois mois consécutifs de non-paiement des cotisations. Chaque section doit élire un délégué pour trois membres ou fraction majeure.

Les délégués seront élus sur la base de discussion de politique générale. Quand il n'y a pas de division dans la section les délégués seront élus par l'ensemble de la section. Les délégués dans ce cas doivent être élus à la majorité absolue des membres votants et tous les membres seront obligés de voter une liste complète.

Quand il y a des divisions dans la section sur la politique générale l'élection des délégués se fera sur la base de représentation proportionnelle. La représentation des tendances sera basée sur le vote des résolutions ou de déclarations faites par écrit et soumises à la section par vote. Les abstentions ne comptent en aucun cas pour des votes. Après qu'une division politique ait été établie, les votants de chaque bord devront choisir en caucus leurs délégués et les soumettre à l'ensemble de la section.

Les sections peuvent élire des délégués suppléants. Quand un délégué régulier n'est pas présent à l'une des sessions du congrès, la délégation de la section choisit un suppléant pour le remplacer avec droit de parole et droit de vote. Autrement les suppléants ont un vote consultatif et pas le droit de parole. Les membres de l'exécutif qui ne sont pas élus comme délégués par leur section et par leurs co-délégués ont droit de parole et vote consultatif dans toutes les sessions. Tous les membres de la LJS/YS peuvent assister -- en fait sont fortement invités à le faire.

Les sections organisées après le 11 septembre 1969 sont invitées à envoyer des délégués fraternels au congrès. Les membres recrutés après le 11 septembre 1969 sont invités à prendre la parole dans les discussions de section mais ne votent



pas sur les résolutions ou dans le choix des délégués. Les membres doivent être présents et voter en personne à la réunion où se fait l'élection des délégués pour que leur vote soit compté. La seule exception est pour les membres qui sont excusés par la section pour une raison irrémédiable et qui envoient une déclaration écrite sans aucune ambiguïté sur leur positions et leur choix pour une liste complète de candidats.

Les membres transférés d'une section dans une autre après le 11 septembre 1969 doivent voter dans la section d'avant leur transfert.

#### APPENDICE: REPRESENTATION PROPORTIONNELLE

Le tableau suivant montre quel système proportionnel modifié suivre s'il y a des divisions:

<u>Nombre de membres qualifiés dans la section</u>	<u>Nombre total de délégués</u>	<u>Nombre minimum de ceux votants pour avoir une minorité:</u>		
		<u>1 délégué</u>	<u>2 délégués</u>	<u>3 délégués</u>
2-4	1	- #	-	-
5-7	2	1/3	-	-
8-10	3	1/4	-	-
11-13	4	1/5	2/5	-
14-16	5	1/6	1/3	-
17-19	6	1/7	2/7	3/7
3n-1 à 3n+1	n	1/n+1	2/n+1	3/n+1 a

(# quand la section a un nombre impair de délégués et quand la division dans le vote est exactement égale, deux délégués, avec 1/2 voix seront élus). Dans le cas où la section a plus de deux fractions elle élit des délégués sur une base directement proportionnelle (i.e. dans une section avec n délégués, au moins 1/n portion de membres qualifiés a dû voter pour une position pour que cette position ait un délégué).

Le Conseil Exécutif Central de la LJS/YS,  
le 7 août 1969.

(p. 1)

SOMMAIRE DU RAPPORT POLITIQUE SCUMIS AU PLENUM  
DU CONSEIL EXECUTIF LE 28 JUIN 1969 par Gary Porter

Je voudrais commencer par faire quelques commentaires sur les remarques du sommaire du camarade Michel. Il me semble assez clair qu'aucune grande divergence ne ressort de la discussion. Il en existe sûrement sur la question du syndicalisme étudiant et il ne peut en résulter qu'une discussion profitable lors de la période de discussion préparatoire au congrès; mais en ce qui concerne nos perspectives d'ensemble pour la prochaine période et en ce qui concerne nos tâches clés, je crois qu'il n'y a que très peu de choses qui nous sépare. Il est important que nous nous en rendions compte: se comporter comme s'il y avait des divergences alors qu'il n'y en a pas ne peut qu'embrouiller la discussion.

Maintenant, je voudrais dire quelque chose à propos de la discussion du rapport politique. La discussion a été très profitable et a démontré un certain nombre de choses. Elle a démontré à travers les rapports régionaux successifs, que nous sommes une force sur les campus; l'automne dernier, ce n'était qu'une orientation; mais au cours de l'année passée, nous avons réalisé cette orientation. La discussion a également révélé notre compréhension croissante du campus et du mouvement étudiant ainsi que des moyens d'y travailler. Ceci n'était possible qu'à travers un certain enracinement dans le mouvement étudiant. La discussion a montré que nous ne sommes plus simplement orienté vers la construction d'un mouvement autochtone basé au Québec... nous avons accompli cette tâche; notre tâche actuelle est d'aller de l'avant avec nos forces québécoises et d'accroître leurs effectifs. J'ai été également heureux de remarquer que la discussion a révélé une certaine impatience; maintenant que nous commençons à devenir une partie réelle et bien vivante du mouvement étudiant, les camarades veulent intervenir sur les campus plus agressivement et sur une plus grande échelle. A ce point de vue, j'ai particulièrement remarqué les commentaires des camarades Denis et Gilbert; Denis disait dans sa contribution: "les militants ne s'identifient pas à aucun groupe, ce qui fait que tout va dans le melting-pot du MSP (Mouvement Syndical Politique). Nous devons mener une action parallèle au MSP et non provoquer des affrontements avec lui; les limitations politiques du MSP (nationalisme excessif) nous incite à mener nos propres actions; nous devons être prêts non seulement à distribuer des tracts, mais aussi à agir!". Et Gilbert disait: "nous ne devons pas nous limiter au travail éducatif et à la formation de cadres, si cela demeure la priorité, car la meilleure façon de mener ce travail, c'est à travers l'action. C'est ce qu'entend Michel par son appel à la formation de sections LIS et d'un service d'ordre".

Il me semble que l'objectif principal de ces déclarations vise à amener la LIS/YS à prendre des initiatives indépendantes sur les campus; je suis pleinement d'accord avec cette perspective. Pour moi, la discussion a révélé une plus grande confiance en nous quant à nos capacités de manoeuvrer face aux courants de l'opposition, à les dépasser et d'être là où ça compte - et c'est sur quoi je veux m'étendre - comment mordre dans la véritable force, la force qui dépasse toutes les organisations actuelles - le nombre croissant d'étudiants indépendants de toute organisation, qui sont en voie de radicalisation. Whitton a très bien expliqué, à mon avis, certains des principaux aspects de cette situation.

Mais je veux lire des extraits du document rédigé par Walter et moi, qui expriment clairement et soigneusement nos attitudes face, et aux syndicats étudiants, et aux formations de type SDU (voir pages 5 et 6).

Nous avons l'habitude de parler d'un vide à gauche. Nous voulions dire que dans le mouvement étudiant, il n'y a aucun obstacle enraciné qui ne pouvait être dépassé, mais que l'on devait plutôt surmonter. En d'autres mots, il n'y a dans le mouvement étudiant rien qui joue le rôle joué par le NPD dans la classe ouvrière. Aucune tendance ou organisation ne peut prétendre être le leadership étudiant. Lorsque nous pouvons affirmer une telle chose dans le contexte de l'accroissement et de l'approfondissement clair et évident d'une radicalisation touchant tous les étudiants canadiens, les possibilités qui s'offrent à nous apparaissent beaucoup plus clairement. La voie nous est ouverte pour une action plus agressive.

Nous savons où doit aller le mouvement étudiant et comment il doit fonctionner. Nous comprenons que les luttes doivent avoir des slogans, des demandes bien définies et défensivement formulées, que le mouvement doit être non-exclusionniste, que pendant notre action, nous visons à organiser des meetings où se prennent massivement et démocratiquement les décisions, des meetings regroupant tous ceux qui participent à la lutte. Nous savons ce que nous voulons et comment l'avoir, et nous sommes prêts à travailler à l'intérieur, à l'extérieur, avec et aux côtés de toutes organisations d'accord avec nous sur un but spécifique. L'essentiel est de savoir ce que l'on fait; cela rend toujours plus aisée la tâche de savoir ce que l'on peut et ce que l'on ne peut pas faire en cours de route, avec qui travailler et qui ne veut pas travailler avec nous, sur qui se fier et sur qui ne pas se fier. Bien que nous croyons que le mouvement étudiant forgera et reforge continuellement des structures larges et représentatives, nous savons que ces structures fluctueront et changeront, qu'elles correspondront au niveau politique du mouvement. Pour nous et pour le mouvement étudiant la question clé est la politique -le programme. Nous savons que le nôtre est le meilleur et nous savons qu'une lutte pour devenir le leadership étudiant signifie avant tout l'hégémonie de nos politiques -les politiques du marxisme révolutionnaire.

Nous voulons retourner sur les campus l'automne prochain, préparés à participer pleinement à la lutte étudiante, à la diriger chaque fois que c'est possible, à former des fronts unis avec ceux qui veulent y participer, mais nous ne devons pas nous sentir obligés d'attendre ceux qui sont trop sectaires ou ultragauchistes ou autres, pour agir. C'est la voie qui s'ouvre à nous. C'est pourquoi nous deviendrons le leadership étudiant, c'est pourquoi nous amènerons les étudiants du côté de la classe ouvrière et de son avant-garde.

CONSTITUTION DE LA LIGUE DES JEUNES SOCIALISTES/YOUNG SOCIALISTS  
 (Telle qu'adoptée au Congrès de fondation le 17 juillet 1965 et telle qu'amendée aux congrès de juillet 67 et 68)

- Article 1      Nom: Le nom de cette organisation sera: Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/Young Socialists.
- Article 2      But: La LJS/YS est un mouvement socialiste révolutionnaire de jeunesse fonctionnant dans les deux nations: canadienne-française et canadienne-anglaise. Son but est d'éduquer la jeunesse au programme marxiste révolutionnaire et d'engager la jeunesse de notre société dans la lutte pour construire un parti d'avant-garde capable de conduire à la liquidation du capitalisme et à l'établissement des fondements du socialisme - un Etat ouvrier.
- Article 3      Relation avec la LSO/LSA: La ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action et la LJS/YS sont des parties autonomes d'un même mouvement. La LJS/YS déclare adhérer aux buts et au programme de la LSO/LSA; mais dans ce cadre elle est autonome en tant qu'organisation. La LJS/YS adhère au statut de relation entre la jeunesse et la ligue telle qu'adopté au congrès de la LSA en 1963.
- Article 4      Appartenance: Pour être membre, il faut être âgé de moins de 27 ans et être en accord avec la politique, le programme et la discipline de la LJS/YS et apporter au mouvement, au mieux de ses capacités, une contribution loyale et active.
- b) La demande d'admission d'un nombre sera décidé par la section locale du candidat. Dans le cas où il n'existe pas de section dans cette région, le candidat devra s'adresser au Conseil Exécutif Central et pourra être admis comme membre "sans affiliation".
- c) Tout membre doit payer une somme à déterminer par le Conseil Exécutif comme cotisation mensuelle. Les sections sont responsables pour ramasser les cotisations et les faire parvenir au bureau central. Les membres "sans affiliation" doivent payer leur propre cotisation au centre.
- d) Tout membre en retard de trois mois dans ses cotisations cesse d'être un membre en règle. Seul les membres en règle peuvent voter ou occuper un poste dans la LJS/YS. Les membres qui ne sont pas en règle peuvent être rayés après avertissement.
- e) Dans toutes les activités politiques les membres de la LJS/YS opèrent comme une unité discipliné et sont liés par les décisions des corps gouvernants.
- Article 5      Congrès bi-national:
- a) Le congrès bi-national est l'organe le plus élevé de la LJS/YS et doit se réunir une fois toute les deux années.
- b) Des congrès d'urgence peuvent être demandés par le Conseil Exécutif ou par des sections représentant au moins les



deux tiers des membres. Normalement 90 jours d'avertissement seront donnés pour la tenue d'un tel congrès.

c) Le Conseil Exécutif Central dirige le déroulement de la discussion préparatoire au congrès. Tous les membres ont le droit de soumettre des documents pour circulation interne et discussion.

d) L'élection des délégués et des suppléants au congrès soit se faire par les sections locales. Pour être éligible pour les élections un membre doit être en règle au moment du congrès.

e) Le nombre de délégués au congrès sera déterminé par le Conseil Exécutif, comme le sera la base de la représentation des minorités.

f) Dans le cas où il existe une division politique significative l'élection des délégués sera proportionnel. Une division politique existe seulement quand un document est présenté et soumis à un vote.

g) Les membres du Conseil Exécutif (ou membres suppléants) qui ne sont pas élus comme délégués ont le droit de parole mais pas le droit de vote.

#### Article 6 Le Conseil Exécutif:

a) Le Conseil Exécutif sera la plus haute autorité entre les congrès. Il aura autorité sur tous les organes et toutes les publications de la LJS/YS.

b) Le nombre des membres du Conseil Exécutif sera décidé par le congrès. Généralement dans l'élection du CE toutes les minorités significatives seront représentées.

c) Le Conseil Exécutif aura droit d'ajouter des membres. Il aura aussi le droit d'ajouter des membres au Conseil Exécutif Central. Dans le cas d'un tel ajout il devra se faire de sorte de ne pas changer l'équilibre politique existant au Conseil Exécutif et au Conseil Exécutif Central.

d) Le Conseil Exécutif se réunira après et avant les congrès et au moins une fois par année où il n'y a pas de congrès. De plus, il se réunira sur la demande de plus de la moitié des membres du CE.

#### Article 7 Le Conseil Exécutif Central:

a) Le Conseil Exécutif Central se composera de membres du Conseil Exécutif résidant au centre et agira au nom du Conseil Exécutif entre les réunions du Conseil Exécutif. On lui donnera toute l'autorité du Conseil Exécutif sauf que toute ses décisions pourront être révisées par le Conseil Exécutif. Sur la demande d'au moins 1/3 des membres du Conseil Exécutif, toute décision du Conseil Exécutif Central sera soumise au vote du Conseil Exécutif. Entre les congrès le Conseil Exécutif Central sera responsable de la surveillance du bureau central, de sa composition et de toutes les publications de la LJS/YS ainsi que de l'application de toutes les décisions du congrès et du Conseil Exécutif.

b) En général toutes les minorités significatives seront représentées au Conseil Exécutif Central.

Article 8 Les responsables centraux:

- a) Tous les responsables centraux seront responsables directement devant le Conseil Exécutif Central et seront élus par et parmi le Conseil Exécutif. Le Conseil Exécutif élira un secrétaire exécutif et tout autre dirigeant nécessaire.
- b) Le secrétaire exécutif sera responsable de l'administration du bureau central.

Article 9 Organisation:

- a) Après demande au CEC, trois membres dans un lieu donné peuvent recevoir le statut de section.
- b) Toute section doit fonctionner régulièrement, elle doit élire les dirigeants et des comités de travail pour assurer les responsabilités du mouvement.
- c) Toutes les décisions de la LJS/YS doivent être prises par un vote majoritaire.
- d) "Robert's Rules of Order" régleront la procédure à l'exception des cas où elle est en conflit avec cette constitution.
- e) Les règles des sections ne doivent pas entrer en conflit avec cette constitution.
- f) Le principe de centralisme démocratique doit régir tous les domaines.

Article 10 Discipline:

- a) Tout membre ou tout organe de la LJS/YS peut porter une accusation contre n'importe quel membre pour violation de la constitution ou de la discipline de la LJS/YS.
- b) L'accusé doit être jugé par le corps le plus haut auquel il appartient, bien que ce corps puisse choisir de référer la question à un corps plus bas.
- c) Un membre peut être puni par la censure interne ou publique, la suspension ou l'exclusion.
- d) Tout membre a le droit d'appeler de l'action disciplinaire contre lui aux corps plus hauts, y compris le congrès. L'accusé aura trente jours pour faire savoir qu'il fera appel.
- e) En attendant le résultat de l'appel l'action disciplinaire restera pleinement en vigueur.

Article 11 Amendement: Cette constitution ne peut être amendée que par un congrès.

Contribution à la discussion sur la CUS

Par: Jakie Henderson pour les Jeunes socialistes.

D'un bout à l'autre du séminaire, les gens ont exprimés une inquiétude sur la pertinence de ce qui se poursuit ici et de ce qui arrive là sur les campus. Cela se rapporte directement au problème de la survivance de l'union canadienne des étudiants ( CUS ).

On doit aborder la question: qu'y-a-t'il derrière les défaites des référendums l'an dernier qui mette maintenant la survivance du CUS en question ?

La réponse à ça ne se trouve pas dans le radicalisme des résolutions ni dans le caractère retardataire du corps étudiant mais dans la façon dont ces résolutions furent passées et dans la manière dont on s'en débarassa. Elles furent passées à l'écart des étudiants et ensuite, une fois passées, elles furent tout simplement mise dans les filières et aucune action ne fut faite à partir d'elles. Ce fut l'aile droite qui les sortit de l'ombre et somma la CUS de les défendre. Cette expérience servit à renforcer l'éloignement des étudiants du CUS. Le seul commentaire qu'on leur permit de faire fut de voter oui ou non à ces référendums.

Poser comme solution à cet isolement que la CUS devrait tout simplement représenter la majorité des étudiants est aussi ridicule que de suggérer de le laisser tomber, rentrer se coucher et espérer que quelque chose se développe. Une CUS représentant "l'étudiant ordinaire" serait condamné à l'inaction et à la ruine. Mais il y a une différence entre une organisation qui dirige les étudiants et une organisation qui les ignore. Une CUS efficace serait une CUS qui serve à organiser les étudiants dans l'action radicalisante et qui tente consciemment d'éduquer les étudiants. L'un des côtés de cette éducation est de faire circuler largement du matériel de recherches sur la nature du capitalisme, de l'impérialisme et comment ce problème est relié à l'université. L'autre côté est l'éducation par l'action. Si on prenait cette orientation, la CUS pourrait jouer un rôle important dans le développement du mouvement étudiant canadien, qui serait en plein accord avec les groupes révolutionnaires qui tentent de jouer un rôle révolutionnaire d'avant-garde sur les campus.

Mais cela nécessiterait quelques restructurations de la CUS, l'ouvrant plus largement aux étudiants. Des délégués aux congrès, aux réunions du conseil aurait dû être élus directement du corps étudiant. Ces délégués représenteraient des plate-formes politiques pour rendre les congrès pertinents et éduquer les étudiants dans le processus. Les délégués auraient dû provenir du congrès prêt à combattre pour les discussions et mener les étudiants dans l'action.

POUR L'ACTION DE MASSE, AFIN DE HAUSSER LE NIVEAU DE CONSCIENCE DES ETUDIANTS

Le critère pur une bonne résolution n'est pas son langage révolutionnaire mais beaucoup plus sa capacité de véhiculer l'action révolutionnaire. Il nous faut choisir ces actions selon leurs capacité d'impliquer de grands nombre d'étudiants dans des campagnes militantes qui nous donnent la vérité sur la nature de l'université et de la société. Il y a beaucoup de question mobilisatrices de cette sorte: emplois d'été et accessibilité générale n'en sont que deux exemples. Rejeter de telles campagnes comme "libérales", c'est s'accrocher



au concept social-démocrate de division entre réformes immédiates et revendications révolutionnaires de longue portée. Bien que Rosa Luxembourg et Lénine aient démystifié ce concept de revendications "minimales et maximales" il y a plus de cinquante ans, beaucoup ne l'ont pas encore compris.

La CUS devrait faire avancer la campagne pour le contrôle étudiant de l'université et lui donner un contenu révolutionnaire, en développant la critique du caractère bourgeois de l'éducation; en tournant le mouvement contre le gouvernement qui se dresse derrière l'administration; en l'orientant vers des revendications à contenu de classe telles que représentation ouvrière aux Conseils d'administration, accessibilité générale, emplois d'été pour les étudiants, etc.; en travaillant une vue de faire de l'université une base pour la contestation permanente du système capitaliste rassemblant et éduquant les forces révolutionnaires et appuyant les luttes des travailleurs.

Une alliance étudiants-travailleurs doit aller au-delà de l'appui valable mais limité que constituent les actions d'appui sur les lignes de piquetage. Notre orientation de base doit se diriger vers la construction d'une base dans les universités pour la lutte pour le socialisme. A cette fin nous pouvons impliquer les étudiants dans des actions de classe anti-capitalistes qui se relient à l'ensemble de la lutte. Parler du besoin d'une alliance étudiants-travailleurs et ignorer les organisations ouvrières fait de ce concept du pur verbiage. Si nous voulons trouver les travailleurs nous devons nous diriger vers leurs organisations telles qu'elles existent actuellement dans la réalité. Nous devons tenter de tirer ces organisations dans l'action radicale et aider les socialistes à expliquer les limites du leadership actuel de ces organisations. Nous devons voir l'appui au NPD non seulement comme un moyen de s'allier politiquement avec les travailleurs mais aussi un moyen de faire concurrence avec l'actuel leadership pro-capitaliste de la classe ouvrière.

Notons, en passant, qu'il s'agit d'une révolution mondiale.

Il ne faut jamais sous-estimer l'impact de la révolution mondiale à la fois sur l'instabilité du capitalisme canadien et sur la radicalisation montante parmi les étudiants canadiens. Cela nous remet les yeux sur le devoir des révolutionnaires d'appuyer et de défendre les autres révolutions, particulièrement le Vietnam puisque c'est le point d'attaque clef de l'impérialisme. La meilleure défense est d'expliquer ces révolutions aux Canadiens, de les éduquer afin qu'ils les appuient et de les radicaliser par l'action pour faire leur propre révolution. Des manifestations pour le retrait immédiat des troupes US du Vietnam et pour la fin de la complicité du gouvernement canadien ont été prouvées comme moyens de mobiliser de grands nombres d'étudiants canadiens et de les éduquer sur la nature de l'impérialisme, le caractère impérialiste de la classe capitaliste canadienne et les raisons d'appuyer la révolution vietnamienne. On doit construire sérieusement de telles actions, en tant qu'actions unies du mouvement étudiant, reflétant des analyses différentes du Vietnam et de l'impérialisme à l'intérieur de ces actions.

Ouvrons le débat sur la stratégie:

De larges questions encore sans réponses font face aux révolutionnaires. Pourquoi la classe ouvrière n'a-t-elle pas réalisé le pouvoir ouvrier?



Comment peut-elle y parvenir? De quelle sorte de programme a besoin le mouvement révolutionnaire? Que penser de la question du contrôle ouvrier et quelles leçons tirer de l'expérience française? Quelle est la relation entre la spontanéité, les organisations de masse des travailleurs et le parti révolutionnaire d'avant-garde? Le temps est venu pour le mouvement étudiant de s'affronter à ces questions, le temps est venu d'utiliser l'expérience de plus d'un siècle de lutte pour le socialisme de la classe ouvrière à travers le monde. Dans l'intérêt du développement du mouvement étudiant et de la lutte pour le socialisme au Canada, nous devons ouvrir la discussion sur ces questions.

Notations  
Gard doctorm

# young socialists ligue des jeunes socialistes

## Discussion Bulletin

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- (A) 1. Draft Political Resolution (10 pp)  
-submitted by the YS/LJS  
Central Executive Council
2. Anti-war Resolution Correction (see end, p.10)

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## DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION

- submitted by the YS/LJS  
Central Executive Council.

In the past couple of years we have seen more than ever before, the emergence of youth in the forefront of developing struggles in all sectors of the world revolution -- in Vietnam, France, Mexico, Czechoslovakia, Pakistan, Ireland, Argentina and the Middle East, just to mention a few of the more outstanding. At the same time the increase in tempo of the world revolution has given growing impetus to the world wide youth radicalization.

The focal point for this radicalization remains Vietnam. The political resolution of the 1967 founding convention of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes said: "The focus of world politics has been the revolution and mounting war in this country (Vietnam), where U.S. imperialism has gathered an army of half a million of its own and its "allied" troops, armed with the most fiendish and murderous weapons, with the aim of smashing the deeply rooted revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people.... The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese has evoked a broad response, particularly among young people, and a strong anti-war movement has grown up on the international level." In the two years since that convention the war in Vietnam has continued to evoke this response and broad layers of youth who are being radicalized throughout the world look to the Vietnamese revolution as a symbol of their struggle.

In Canada, we can see the impact of the world revolution in the radicalization of the students and, to some extent, in the growing instability of Canadian capitalism. Because of its close ties with the U.S., Canadian capitalism is immediately affected by all the crises of U.S. imperialism. The course of the war in Vietnam, for example, is of concern to Canadian capitalists not just because of their interests in war production but because of the way the whole economy is tied up to the fate of American imperialism. The Canadian capitalist class is a highly monopolized, highly compact capitalist class, fully imperialist in outlook and economic investments and in full control of the Canadian state.

Broader sections of Canadian society are becoming disillusioned with the Liberal government's inability to solve the growing social and economic problems. This unrest is seen in Quebec, in the strikes and tenant struggles, in the rising women's liberation movement and in the student struggles. This unrest finds its reflection on the political plane. The popular Liberal campaign for a "Just Society" is looked upon more and more as a bad joke. The response Trudeau received when he toured the western provinces last summer is just a small indication of this dissatisfaction. The Manitoba victory of the NDP, clearly posing the labor alternative to the big business parties despite its reformist program, is another indication.

In the past year we have seen many examples of how the oppression of the Quebecois as a nation has made the situation more explosive in Quebec. The French Canadian student feels his second-class status in the inadequate school facilities he is stuck with and the bleak prospects for employment he faces upon graduation, and is even more impatient for change than his English Canadian counterpart.

### Canada and the University explosion:

Throughout Canada, the university explosion -- the influx of increasing numbers of youth into post-secondary educational institutions -- has given an added impetus to the radicalization process. These students, expecting a useful education, come into conflict with the reality of the bourgeoisie's control of the educational system. They are faced with the high cost of education which they and their parents must shoulder, inadequate facilities, development of the "multiversity" with its mammoth classes and factory-like routine, courses oriented not to learning but to maintaining the system, and above all, no power to change this state of affairs. Every year more students from working class families enter these institutions and every year it becomes clearer that the universities are primarily institutions for the training of the highly

skilled workers that the new technology demands. The immediate result of the world revolution and the growing economic problems on Canada has been the radicalization of youth and a rising tempo of struggle on Canadian campuses.

Most of the struggles on Canadian campuses, including some of the Vietnam protests, have been directed against the university administrations. But the direction has been toward growing understanding and revolt against capitalism. Many of them have linked with social questions that go beyond the immediate concerns of the university. The biggest struggle of the past year (and the biggest student struggle yet to take place in Canada) was the Quebec CEGEP occupation. The students were striking over the quality and availability of education to Quebecois and over their lack of job prospects upon graduation. From the beginning it involved directly the national oppression of Quebecois, the domination of Quebec by English capital, and challenged the government to act upon the students' grievances.

"Operation McGill francais" and the French-only schools movement centering around St. Leonard also involved as their central point the right of the French nation to self-determination.

There has been a noticeable tendency for radicalizing students to generalize student struggles and move out on questions of concern to the population as a whole. This process has posed the question of allies. Many radicals are coming to see the importance of linking with the working class even if they do not quite see how to do this. This tendency is a sign of great future development when the student movement will become an important ally of the working class.

While the past school year gave us just a small picture of what to expect on a massive scale in the future, we saw the important development of a student movement in Canada -- of a growing layer of students who have shown their willingness to respond to the contradictions of capitalism by struggling first against the university administration. At the same time this movement displayed its weakness, its newness, in terms of leadership and co-ordination. An outstanding characteristic of the student struggles was their lack of consistent leadership. Nowhere, not even in Quebec where 17 schools were involved in the occupations, was there a leadership that co-ordinated the various student actions. The only real co-ordination that did take place at all was that around the Vietnam protests. But, despite this lack of leadership, the student movement developed, and will continue to develop, deepening its base as more and more students are brought into action. We can project this development, through sporadic unco-ordinated actions throwing up leadership in the process since the Canadian capitalist class will not be able to solve any of the basic problems students face.

#### Student Organizations:

The experiences of the past school year posed many questions concretely -- what program is necessary for the student movement, what organizational forms, what allies to look to, how to defend the movement, etc. The present student unions, CUS and UGEQ, were tested and found wanting not because of their inherent nature, but because of their leaderships' bankruptcy.

Although both organizations were controlled by radicals, they showed a lack of understanding of how to raise the level of consciousness of the student body through involving them in struggle around issues that expose the nature of the university and society. CUS adopted radical resolutions but did nothing to defend itself in the eyes of the students when the bourgeois press launched an attack against it. In spite of this, CUS received significant support in the campus referendums. It



abstained from the student struggles. UGEQ too did little more than issue press releases in the midst of a massive student upsurge. It finally did call a mass demonstration for the CEGEP struggle but only when it was too late. Thus both organizations ended the year in shambles. CUS took rapid leaps backward at its 1969 congress, attempting to appeal to moderate student councils in order to keep the organization afloat. UGEQ in fact has already gone under.

We recognize that students have a need for broad representative structures to defend their common interests. As the student movement in Canada grows and deepens its roots in individual campuses and as struggles rise to higher levels there will be an increasing need and pressure for co-ordination of these struggles -- be they on specific student questions or questions facing society as a whole. The co-ordinating bodies thrown up by the struggle can range from the highly structured student unions such as we have seen in Canada to ad hoc co-ordinating organizations that arise out of the struggle itself such as was seen in Mexico.

Student radicals in Canada have constantly confused the need, on one hand, for broad representative student organizations, and on the other, for independent organizations of the different political tendencies and groups. They see their organizations, such as SDU's and MSP as playing both the role of the vanguard of the students and as broad student organizations. Thus they fail to come to grips with both the student structures and with the real questions involved in building a vanguard organization. C.9  
R.S.H. J.

The YS/LJS however already understands the task of building a vanguard youth organization. Thus we do not see broad student organizations as competitors, but as complementary to our work. We know that anything that is a step forward for the students as a whole also helps the socialist movement, and we build at once both the student movement as a whole and our own socialist movement.

Many of those radicals who have abandoned CUS and UGEQ are in SDU-type formations in English Canada and the MSP in Quebec. These organizations are individual-campus-based, loose, heterogeneous, and almost ad hoc in character when they are formed. They usually contain within them the major tendencies, and are often dominated by the new left or spontaneists. However, we have seen that a rapid process of differentiation can take place in these organizations with a polarization into their component tendencies. In Toronto, the Toronto Student Movement, an SDU-type organization, has split into two organizationally separate factions -- the New Left Caucus and the Worker-Student Alliance (Maoist) Caucus.

Where there are looser formations attracting a layer of radicalizing students to them, we work in these organizations as YS/LJSers, trying to win students in them to our program and organization and at the same time challenge them to work with us on a united front basis. At the same time we never concentrate the bulk of our activities in or through such organizations. We carry out at the same time a dynamic program of activity and propaganda under the banner of the YS/LJS and initiate united fronts with these and other student organizations. Where these organizations have hardened we see our main function in them as combatting the political positions of other tendencies and putting forward our own theory. We oppose their tendency toward ultraleftism and disassociate ourselves from any ultra-left stunts that divide up the student movement. Where these organizations have split into factions, we do not generally identify politically or organizationally with any faction. Because of their heterogeneity these SDUs etc. stand little chance of federating into a cross-country organization -- even more so since they come onto the scene after the development of tendencies in the student movement. At all times our orientation remains primarily to the newly radicalizing students, to building our own movement not to any organization that represents just a section of the radicals, often the least viable section.

Student struggles will thrive and develop if they bring the mass of the students involved in on making the decisions. Making democratic decisions at mass meetings breaks through any tendency for the action to be dominated by small cliques. It ensures full participation in the struggle by a large number of students and at the same time greatly helps to raise the students' level of understanding. Organizing the movement on the basis of mass decision making meetings requires a leadership which encompasses all the different groups involved in the particular action. In these united front formations, the different groups maintain their organizational independence and programs, but unite around the few clear demands of the action. There can be no exclusion of any groups or individuals because of their positions as long as they support the demands on which the action is based.

The struggles need to center around a few clear demands, and no tendency should try to impose their full program on the struggle. These demands should be defensively formulated to put the movement in the best position to struggle aggressively for them, gaining more and more support in the process. Anyone who supports the demands should be encouraged to join in the struggle.

Other student radicals and left tendencies in the student movement have shown a remarkable lack of understanding of how to pose their struggles defensively. We saw at SEU for example, that we were the only ones with any perspective for defense. This makes it even more important for us to educate the student movement as to the necessity and practicality of defensively formulated actions and defending the victims against the attacks of the administration courts and government, and in the process explain the student struggle. The student movement will not be able to develop fully and gain wide support unless it is able to defend itself against attack.

#### Tendencies in the Student Movement

The tremendous radicalization of the past few years has led to the flowering of many left tendencies on the campus. At this time neither the social democrats, as represented by the NDP, nor the Moscow wing of Stalinism as represented by the Canadian Communist Party have any significant forces in the student movement. The CP has been making some efforts. The social democrats on the other hand, while they could, with the prestige of a mass labor party to back them up, make big inroads into the student radicals, have as yet made no efforts to win students. New tendencies, the sponaneists (today's version of the new left) and the Maoists have entered the student movement and are gaining some support. At the same time the YS/LJS has grown both in numbers and influence.

The varied factors of the world revolution, the university explosion, the problems of Canadian capitalism, etc. push students in a radical direction. Very quickly they see that there are some basic problems with this society and they look for solutions. They have time to study these questions and to be concerned about them. Since they are looking for a logical explanation of the world that will enable them to change it, they are wide open to the Marxist method.

On the other hand the same conditions that enable them to easily generalize, reach political conclusions rapidly, and move into action immediately - more leisure, less job discipline - make them more instable, susceptible to ultra-leftism, ill-equipped to solve organizational questions. These conditions provide a basis for their continual search for short-cuts and stand in the way of them understanding the need for serious, permanent organization, long term strategy for the university and society as a whole, and patient and persevering work in the application of that strategy. They want their revolution NOW and would rather not be bothered with the tedious work of building the cadres that make that revolution possible. This gives the spontaneist and ultra-left tendencies a basis for support among students. Students are constantly



searching for answers, and student radicals can move rapidly from one political outlook to another. Little over a year ago it was popular in the student movement to reject out of hand the working class as an agent for social change. Now, following the May revolt in France and the re-emergence of the workers as a revolutionary force in many struggles throughout the world, it is very popular to give at least lip service to the concept that we have advocated since the days of Marx - that the workers are the force which can and will change society.

While there are many youth in Canada attracted to the Chinese revolution and interested in the much glorified chairman of the Peoples' Republic, they are largely outside of the organized Maoist groups. But with the attractiveness of the revolution and the claims made on it by the Maoists, we must view Maoism as a serious competitor for the allegiance of revolutionary-minded youth. There are two such groups at the moment with a promise of more groups in the future. These are the Canadian Communist movement (Marxist-Leninist) and the Canadian Party of Labor.

Both these groups uncritically support the Chinese bureaucracy and hero worship Mao. Both characterize Canada's labor party, the NDP, as a capitalist party; both write off both the Soviet Union and Cuba as capitalist; both see the introduction of stalinist methods in the student movement as a means of settling disputes. The CCM (ML) call for a People's Republic of Canada brought about by an alliance with the 'progressive' national bourgeoisie and on that basis support 'all national struggles'. But they oppose the unilingual struggle in Quebec as 'racist'. The CPL opposes all national struggles as splitting the working class and denounce the DRV and the NLF as having sold out. On the same justification the CPL opposes the independent organization of women for women's liberation while the Internationalists try to ignore this struggle.

The spontaneists have varying policies and organizational forms but generally give lip service to Marxism while opposing the concept of a Leninist vanguard organization, or saying that such organizations are 'premature'. They lean towards ultra-leftism in action while not being free in any way from opportunism. Many dominant currents in the SDU-type organizations are spontaneist, and the leadership of UGEQ last year was spontaneist. It justified its own lack of leadership with spontaneism, saying it was not their role to give leadership to the students, but the student actions themselves would be all that was necessary. They said this as the student occupation movement floundered because of lack of co-ordination and leadership. Spontaneism is an important tendency not just in Canada but throughout the world and gain much of their basis from the nature of youth radicalization and from the fact that the working class in the advanced capitalist countries, particularly North America, has not yet made the revolution and does not yet have a revolutionary consciousness.

Ultra-leftism is one of the major problems of the student movement. The Maoists are the loudest advocates of it, but the spontaneists also tend to be ultra-left, and other tendencies often pick it up to suit their immediate needs. Ultra-leftism, for all its revolutionary sounding verbiage, is not any nearer to revolutionary Marxism than opportunism. It leads as far away from the struggle for socialism as the latter. In certain situations ultra-leftism can be even more dangerous than opportunism because it appears to be more revolutionary and can sweep up in it revolutionary-minded youth. Lenin described the phenomenon of ultra-leftism in his Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder.

"Little is known in other countries of the fact that Bolshevism took shape, developed, and became steeled in the long years of struggle against petty-bourgeois revolutionism, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter and in all its essential matters, does not measure up to the conditions and requirements of a consistently proletarian class struggle. Marxist theory has established - and the experience of all the European revolutions and revolutionary movements has

why these differences?

established - that the petty bourgeoisie... easily goes to revolutionary extremes, but is incapable of perseverance, organization, discipline and steadfastness."

This tendency towards petty bourgeois revolutionism makes our role in the student movement even more important. The YS/LJS embodies in its organization and theory the traditions of over 100 years of workers struggles. We study the lessons of these struggles and apply them to the problems of the present. We work closely with the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the embryo of the vanguard party of the Canadian workers and are in general political agreement with them.

Our perspective is for a workers revolution in Canada and we work to win Canadian students to this perspective, to the struggle for that revolution today, to the side of the vanguard of Canadian workers.

### The National Struggle in Quebec

French Canada constitutes an oppressed nation. As the draft Quebec resolution describes, French Canadians are doubly oppressed as workers and as French speaking Quebecois. Their nation is subordinated politically to the federal regime and economically to English Canadian and American capitalism. This subordination can be seen in the lower wages and living standard of Quebec workers and in the discrimination against the French language. The English language and the English ruling class are predominant on all the upper levels of Canadian business and government. Quebec is owned and controlled not just by a tiny handful of capitalists, but by foreign capitalists, Anglo-Canadian and U.S. capital. Thus to class consciousness is added national consciousness. This national consciousness heightens the tempo of the struggle. The radicalization in Quebec is more widespread than in English Canada, particularly among the students, because of the national question and at the same time it is on a more basic level because of it. Since language is a central aspect of the oppression of French Canadians, much of the national struggle centers around the schools. Last year we saw the McGill Francais demonstration and the St. Leonard struggle, which has erupted again, centered around this question. We can anticipate more big struggles around this question in the future. In their militancy and ability to draw in masses of students and even some workers, the Quebec struggles have been a model for the whole student movement.

A key task for English Canadian revolutionaries is the defense of the Quebecois national struggle. A key task for French Canadian revolutionaries is to educate youth in the socialist perspective of the national question. The YS/LJS, having cadres in both nations, is in a unique position to lead in carrying out both tasks.

### Women's Liberation

The last year has seen a growing awareness among Canadian women, particularly student women, of their oppression as women. A number of organizations for women's liberation have sprung up across the country. These organizations are in their early formative stages, grappling with basic organizational questions and trying to formulate some sort of program. By and large they see women's oppression as the fault of society, not of men, but don't know how to formulate a program for struggle against this oppression. While these organizations in existence now may well give way to others, we can see a very real basis for women to organize independently for their liberation and foresee the development of a women's liberation movement in Canada.

As socialists, who defend in particular the most oppressed sectors of capitalist society, we stand in complete solidarity with this movement. We will continue to organize actions for women's liberation as we did in Quebec last winter with 'Operation Drink-In', and to educate students as to the roots of the oppression of women. We are active in, and promote the formation of women's liberation groups, proposing that they put forward transitional demands for women and to engage in actions that reach out past



their memberships. We see as a key task getting these groups, which are so far composed of petty bourgeoisie women, to relate to working class women. To challenge the trade union movement and the New Democratic Party to take up the cause of women's liberation.

### Revolutionary Student Strategy

The revolutionary strategy for the university sees the solution to the crisis of the university in the socialist revolution. This is why we try to direct the attack of the student movement against its real enemy -- the capitalist ruling class, and to attack the power of the ruling class over the university. We think the university and society at large should be run in the interests of the overwhelming majority of society -- the working class. Thus we see that the purpose of the student movement must be to mobilize and educate the forces for socialism, and make the university an organizing center for socialism. We want to make the university a tool of the socialist revolution, an instrument in the working class struggle. A strong student movement must be built that can make the facilities available for this purpose.

Two concrete Canadian examples of this strategy, which has been called in other countries the strategy of the "red university", are the Simon Fraser University Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology (SFU PSA) department issue and the McGill francis struggle. Operation McGill Français centered around the demand that McGill be made a French university, that its facilities be made available for the French Canadian nation not the English ruling elite that it presently serves. The SFU PSA department issue arose when this democratically controlled department started to offer its facilities for the use of "those people in the community who don't control the power and wealth of B.C.: the trade unions, Indians, youth etc. and to" "offer our resources, on an individual and voluntary basis to these groups, to conduct educationals, to do research, to assist them in gaining direct use of the facilities of the university and to work with them to gain a voice in the operation of the university".

Under the umbrella of this strategy, can be posed all our main demands on the university, some of which are:

- Universal accessibility to education -- free education including a student wage for high school and university students.
- Guaranteed jobs upon graduation.
- Student, faculty and staff control over the university, including the hiring and firing of faculty and administration officials.
- Freedom of political association and organization for students, faculty and staff.
- Right of high school students to organize political clubs and to have complete freedom of discussion, assembly, association, and distribution of material.
- No cops on campus.
- Big business of the boards of governors.
- End campus complicity with the Vietnam war.
- The right to use university and high school facilities to organize against the war.
- End all ties between the university and the war machine. No war research on campus.
- No Canadian army recruitment on campus or in the high schools, or cadets in the high schools.
- End cooperation with the RCMP. No more secret files on student political groups or on individual radicals.
- Make public all investments, holdings and contracted projects of the university and of all directors, trustees and administrators.
- No campus recruiting for big business corporations.

- The right to use university facilities to promote educational and cultural activities and struggles of direct interest to organizations of the working class and other oppressed groups.
- Self-determination for Quebec. The right of the French Canadians to control their own education in their own language.
- End streaming of girls into specific courses and other discriminatory educational practices against women students. For the establishment of women's studies departments under the control of women for the truthful teaching of women's history, sociology, sexuality etc. and to break down the myths about women.
- The right of the Native peoples to control their own educational system and run it in the language of their choice.

We see these demands being able to relate to the real need of the students and bring them into struggle against the bourgeois character of the university, educating them in the process to the real nature of this society and the road forward to change it. The lack of understanding of such a program is a key weakness of the present student movement and the biggest contribution we have to make to that movement.

A variation of this revolutionary strategy is the strategy we have carried out in the high schools. Primarily around the question of Vietnam, we have attempted to link the problems of high school students to the big social issues of our day. Young Socialists helped organize dramatic campaigns for high school teach-ins in the schools that linked together the undemocratic character of the educational system, the fight for student rights, and the war. The popular demand was that students should have the right to discuss the war and organize against it in the high school. The broad petition campaign carried on this question gained a great deal of support. Young Socialists also participated in the same sort of fight for the right to organize political clubs in the high schools a few years ago and helped win that fight in one school district -- Toronto.

High school struggles suffer more from organizational problems than university struggles since high school students are more divided up and consciously prevented from organizing. Thus the struggles in the high schools are very sporadic. But with the continued radicalization among high school students we can foresee the rapid growth of these struggles and the development of an organized high school student movement in Canada. The influx of high school students into the YS/LJS will continue and grow. We intervene in the high schools through the YS/LJS, through the anti-war movement, ad-hoc student rights committees, through YSF and Jeune Garde and other papers and leaflets of our tendency. Young Socialists, with their experience and organization, participate in developing co-ordination and leadership in the high school student movement.

*→ Through comrade teachers!!*

Many forces counterpose a "course union" strategy to our strategy of mass struggles around transitional demands. The course union strategy means organizing unions in individual courses to attempt to make changes in the content of the courses and how they are run, and to attempt to implement some kind of student control over hiring and firing of professors. While course struggles can lead to mass mobilizations, to single them out as an exclusive strategy is wrong, and can easily lead to ultra-left confrontations with individual professors over their bourgeois ideology or into the most petty reformism. That is not to say we don't support struggles for university reform. We see these struggles as helping to develop consciousness about the nature of the administration and often lead to the escalation of demands as the students confront the administration.

Our strategy is to show how the university is tied up with capitalism itself and convince students to aid in the fight to change society. Demands for "student power" can easily lead in this direction because the university is tied hand and foot to big business.



We look to the workers as the key force to bring socialism to Canada not just because of their numbers but because of their strategic position. Their interests run contrary to those of the capitalist and they come into day to day conflict with them. Despite the many divisions between intellectual and manual labor, French and English, unionized and non-unionized, men and women, they are united as a class by their essential interest to combat the power of capital. It is this life and death struggle that has thrown up the mighty organizations of labor-- the trade unions and the party affiliated to them, the New Democratic Party. They are absolutely necessary to the running of industry-- they are needed by the bosses but they don't need the bosses.

The Canadian working class has a rich tradition of struggle. In 1919 the workers of Winnipeg staged a week long general strike, bringing all the operations of that city to a halt and then taking them over and running them themselves. At that same time there were general work stoppages of workers right across the country in support of the Winnipeg workers. We know that this struggle gained much of its inspiration from the October revolution in Russia just as the present radicalization is spurred on by the world revolution.

Today we see, in response to this radicalization and growing economic contradictions, the beginning of a new militancy among Canadian workers. At the same time the students now going to post secondary institutions, will soon be entering the labor force as skilled workers. More and more skilled workers and "professionals" are considering themselves workers as the myth of their special status is being ripped away by capitalism. Teachers and civic employees both staged militant strikes last year.

As revolutionaries we do not ignore the present level of consciousness of the working class. We know the Canadian workers are not at this moment revolutionary, but instead, still have considerable faith in reforming capitalism. But we know how quickly the class is capable of discarding the prejudices and concepts of the past and coming to revolutionary conclusions very rapidly in time of social crises. This is exactly what the working class in France did in May 1968. France showed dramatically how even without mass unemployment and hunger workers can take the path of revolution.

Many students are beginning to look to the working class as a potential ally. This is a big step forward for the student movement, even if it is just an aspiration thus far. Student revolutionaries must help to build a mass student movement which supports workers' demands both in the context of the university and in the general struggle against capitalism. Students can play a role in initiating mass actions that appeal to students and workers alike. The Anti-war demonstrations have been successful actions of this kind that can lead to a further understanding of why the system must be changed and how it can be. One very immediate way for students to work together with workers is in the organization of campus workers. Staff should be included in decision making processes of the university along with the faculty and students. Also participation in the big actions of labor such as recent demonstrations held in Ontario against the Rand report give students a picture of the strength of labour and teach them some important lessons for organizing themselves.

The orientation of some student groups, and particularly the Maoists, takes this desire for unity with labour and leads it in the wrong direction. They see the students as "picket fodder", that the main way students can link up with the workers is through selecting small, weak strikes in small plants where the labor movement is not coming to the defense of the workers, and substituting student pickets for the organizational support of the union movement. This orientation is a diversion from the task of building the student movement and is a form of substitutionism since it creates the impression that students can win labour's battles for it. Besides, it misses the point. The labour movement is weak in Canada not primarily because it is losing a few strikes here and there, or because there are too few workers organized. These are factors, but they

flow from the main dilemma -- the working class organizations have a program and leadership which is reformist when the tasks are revolutionary. The strategy of revolutionary students must come to grips with this major problem.

The Canadian workers are a long way ahead of their American counterparts, in that they have begun to grapple with the question of political power. They have formed an independent political expression for their class. The New Democratic Party is a labor party, a clear break with the bourgeois parties. As the political expression of the working class it can be an important ally of the student movement. Of course it suffers from a reformist leadership and program as does the trade union movement. It is the task of revolutionaries to fight against this program and leadership, to fight for a revolutionary socialist one, not to ignore the existence of organized labor and the NDP because they are reformist. This reformism is a serious block to the progress of the Canadian revolution and one of the most important and difficult tasks of revolutionaries is to get it out of the road. On one hand we seek to ally with the present working class, not some imaginary revolutionary one. On the other we support those forces fighting for a socialist program for the NDP and against the trade union bureaucracy.

The ultimate necessity of the working class to enable their struggles to reach a successful conclusion is a vanguard party. The building of this party is an urgent task of revolutionaries. Students have a big role to play in this process of building the party that will lead the Canadian workers to the revolution, and participating in this construction of cadres they link up with the workers' struggle on the highest level possible. This task is not an easy, short range one. Many have looked for a shorter, easier path to the revolution, a way to ignore the process of building cadres capable of leading the struggle, but none have found such a path. Based on the program of Marx and developed by Lenin and Trotsky, the YS/LJS is engaged in the process of building the vanguard. It seeks to draw the most advanced of the students to its ranks and enlist them in this struggle to build the vanguard party.

The embryo of the Canadian vanguard party can be seen in the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, with whom the YS/LJS is in fundamental political agreement. The League itself, with its program, roots in the working class, cadres and fraternal relations with the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution, will play a key role in enabling the YS/LJS to win Canadian youth to its ranks.

The task of the YS/LJS is to educate these youth through action and propaganda to revolutionary socialism. In the immediate period the YS/LJS will weld together united front leaderships around defensively formulated transitional and democratic demands and in some cases lead these struggles under our own banner. At the same time we will work to establish our tendency as the dominant one among Canadian students. We will continue to build the Young Socialists clubs as organs of revolutionary socialism on the campus. There are no big obstacles in the way of our movement on the campuses or in the high schools. With the growth of interest among students in Marxism and the general radicalization, we can project growing possibilities before the YS/LJS. Based on the traditions of Marxism, sensitive to the tasks of the present, and sure of the road to the future, we can lead Canadian students to the side of the coming Canadian revolution, to the world revolution.

ERRATA: Insert this paragraph at the bottom of page 4 of the Anti-war Resolution.

This has found its reflection also in the role of various left tendencies which have sprung to life around the national question. They feel little obligation to work consistently on the Vietnam question. When the Union Général des Étudiants du Québec (UGEQ) called demonstrations on November 18, 1967, more than 5000 students responded, but this has been the exception to the general lack of participation in the anti-war movement.

## DRAFT ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

YS/LJS DB Vol. 5 No. 2 – 1969 (Sept.)

Submitted by the Central Executive Council of the Young Socialists/

Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

The war in Vietnam stands today as the central focus of the world confrontation between socialism and imperialism. The Vietnamese people have shown that the mighty imperialist military machine can be stopped in its tracks and thrown back by the struggle of a determined people. This fact has underlined the revolutionary character of this decade and has been the central factor behind the wave of youth radicalization sweeping the world. Defense of the Vietnamese revolution stands as the paramount duty of every revolutionary today. Since the Vietnamese are struggling, and defeating our common enemy, imperialism, proletarian internationalism demands that we do everything we can to aid them. It is this fundamental understanding that motivates our consistent defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The war in Vietnam has not lessened in intensity and ferocity. The much heralded withdrawal of troops by the Nixon administration is nothing but a fraud intended to cut across popular opposition to the war. The imperialists cannot withdraw substantial numbers of troops without losing the war – and Nixon has not given up his long term objective of rolling back the Vietnamese revolution and carrying counter-revolution into China. At the same time, however, each of Nixon's maneuvers whets the appetite of the American people and the troops for more withdrawals. The feeling of distrust of Americans towards the government has increased, as has the determination of the Vietnamese to carry the struggle forward to victory.

The Vietnam war has given rise to an international movement against the war on every continent. This development has been particularly profound in the heartland of imperialism, the United States, where the first mass movement against a war in progress has grown up. This movement is now being joined by growing numbers of G.I.s (*U.S. conscript soldiers –ed.*) who are organizing against the war and demanding their civil rights in doing so. The international anti-war movement has been second only to the heroic efforts of the Vietnamese in thwarting the designs of imperialism. This international movement has also reflected the world wide radicalization around the question of Vietnam and has had the effect of deepening and broadening this radicalization, particularly among the youth.

Arms continue to flow from Canadian manufacturers to the American military. Canadian diplomats act as spies and apologists for the Pentagon on the International Control Commission. Canadian scientists are helping to develop chemical and biological weapons for the arsenals of world imperialism. Canadian troops are now being trained in anti-riot and counter-insurgency techniques – with the intent to use them to crush revolutions throughout the world. The Canadian military is being groomed to play an important role internationally, that of "peace-keeper" or undercover agent, running interference for American imperialism when the going gets rough.

**Slogans:** The basic slogan of the anti-war movement internationally is "'Withdraw U.S. Troops Now!" This slogan is based on the fundamental right of nations to self-determination.

The withdrawal of U.S. and allied troops from Vietnam is essential, to guarantee the Vietnamese this right. The revolutionary socialists have gone through a long struggle to establish this slogan as the main slogan of the anti-war movement. Conservative forces in the anti-war movement have attempted to steer the movement behind demands such as "negotiations," "Stop the bombing," "recognition of the NLF," etc. These slogans have been counterposed to the withdrawal demand as the basis for building the anti-war movement. Such slogans, however, by omitting the essential anti-imperialist thrust of the withdrawal position, have not and can not be the basis for effective action. They do not call for explicitly or otherwise, the self-determination of the Vietnamese, and leave the anti-war movement open to disorientation, by minor concessions from the ruling class. The bankruptcy of the negotiations slogan has become quite evident, especially to the G.I.s who are fighting and dying in Vietnam while the negotiations in Paris drag on.

The ultra-lefts have attacked the withdrawal slogan as a "liberal" demand which does not openly denounce imperialism. They tell us that what is needed is an openly anti-imperialist movement with slogans like "Smash Imperialism" or "Victory to the NLF." They make a serious error in not understanding that "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now" would mean a smashing defeat for U.S. imperialism - a victory for the NLF. "Smash Imperialism" and "Victory to the NLF", while commendable sentiments do not offer a programmatic basis for building a mass movement in concrete opposition to the war. Such slogans are not directed at making demands of the American and Canadian governments, and counterposing a solution to the war policy, as the withdrawal slogan does. The great strength of our slogan is that at a time when the majority of people, including students, are not consciously anti-imperialist, it can mobilize masses of people against an imperialist war, and in the process many will become conscious of the nature of imperialism.

A specific test of the correctness of our slogan occurred in Toronto on October 26, 1968 and in Vancouver on April 5, 1969 when the ultra lefts, organized in opposition to the anti-war movement with their own slogans were able to mobilize only 1/6 to 1/10 of those on the Withdrawal demonstrations. It is interesting to note that the Canadians for the NLF, which was dominated by a Maoist sect, no longer exists since they came to the conclusion that the NLF has "sold out" and become "revisionist".

Another key demand on which the anti-war movement has been built has been "End Canadian Complicity." This demand directly indicts the Canadian government for its aid in the imperialist assault on Vietnam. It mobilizes opposition to this aid and educates people about the nature of the Canadian government. We must tear the mask away from the so-called "peace-keeping" being contemplated by the Trudeau government and expose its imperialist character. "No Canadian troops for foreign wars of aggression!" We must continue to make opposition to Canada's complicity in the war the focal point for opposition to the entire foreign policy of the Trudeau government, including its participation in the imperialist war alliances, NATO and NORAD. Opposition to Canadian complicity, organized by the anti-war movement, has played a role in preventing more overt support for American imperialism by the government and has already played a role in raising the level of consciousness about the character of the Canadian imperialist government.

**Single Issue:** The anti-war movement has been built around the single issue of Vietnam through Committees to End the War in Vietnam and united front committees. This single-issue approach has proven itself, but we have had to fight hard to establish the principle. Other tendencies in the anti-war movement (New Left, C.P., Maoists, Liberal pacifists) have tried at various times to turn the movement into a multi-issue appendage of their own movement. We know that the imposition of a multi-issue political program would tend to limit the size and effectiveness of the movement.

**Exclusionism:** We have consistently attempted to bring all the forces opposed to the war together on a united front basis around the principled demands of withdrawal and ending complicity. Mobilization of co-ordinating committees, which unite or attempt to unite all forces against the war, are now the basic vehicle for anti-war organizing across the country. At this time, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto, founded March 2, 1968, is the leading anti-war committee in Canada. It is a coalition of revolutionary socialists, NDPers, independent activists, and on a somewhat less stable basis, CPers and pacifists. It was the first committee to establish a full time office and staffer. There have been many attempts to exclude other tendencies from the anti-war movement, most often the Trotskyists. We have always opposed this strongly. We have defended and won the right of all tendencies to take part in the movement, to distribute their literature freely, and to be able to carry their own slogans on demonstrations.

The withdrawal tendency was excluded from co-ordinating committees in Toronto and Vancouver in the summer of 1966, on the grounds that it supported a single issue movement and wanted to link it up with the American and world wide anti-war movement. It was not until after the successful Student Day of Protest on November 11, 1966, organized by the withdrawal tendency, that the coalition came back together again. Another split occurred in Toronto after October 21, 1967, when the CPers and pacifists of the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee pulled out because a spokesman for the withdrawal student wing of the movement insisted on his right to speak at the demonstration.

**Mass Action:** Revolutionary socialists have consistently carried the position that it is necessary to go out into the streets and organize mass demonstrations. This position ran counter to the orientation of the right wing to make reformist appeals to the government, and the tendency of the ultralefts towards individual heroic confrontations with the police. We have pointed out that the only effective action is mass action, that can force a change in government policy and raise the level of consciousness of Canadian workers.

**Growth, and Prospects:** The growth of the anti-war movement has largely been a result of the conscious intervention of the revolutionary socialists in influencing its direction. The movement has taken great steps forward both in terms of its politics and its numbers since it was initiated in the latter half of 1965. The movement is now based firmly on the demand for immediate withdrawal and ending Canada's complicity. There is wide rejection of any peace-keeping role for the Canadian government. The movement is now able to mobilize thousands in the major cities (10,000 in Toronto on April 6, 1969). It has played an important role in the international anti-war movement by making the Canadian government's aid to imperialist aggression very difficult.

On the other hand, while the majority of Canadians undoubtedly oppose the war, only a small



minority have been mobilized. The bulk of the demonstrations have been student youth with little representation from the unions. While there has been formal endorsement by the NDP and some important unions, this has resulted in little rank and file participation. Formal endorsement is of course very important, but we must continue to challenge the NDP and the unions to give some muscle into the anti-war movement by mobilizing their rank and file.

To date the government has had some success in hiding its real intentions in that Canada is somewhat removed from the war. However, with the increasing crisis of world imperialism, we can expect that:

1. the imperialist nature of the Canadian government will become more evident as it is forced to commit troops in Vietnam or elsewhere, and
2. that social struggles in general will increase, making workers more responsive to the anti-war movement.

The prospects are for a growing anti-war movement, broadening its support among students and workers. The November 15 International Day of Protest will be an important landmark in this process.

**Role of the Tendencies:** The war has been a crucial test for the left tendencies. Only the revolutionary socialists have consistently defended the Vietnamese revolution, and consequently have been able to recruit from the thousands of youth radicalized on that issue. The Communist Party has broken away from the anti-war movement a number of times over the withdrawal demand, and has consistently tried to introduce exclusionism into the movement. The reformists have shown no desire to mobilize the forces of the NDP and the labour movement, and have even offered justification for Canada's complicity by accepting the idea that the government can "peace-keep." The ultra-lefts – both the spontaneist and Maoist varieties – have refused to participate in the anti-war movement on the grounds that Vietnam is not an issue, or that the movement is not anti-imperialist, or that the NLF has sold out.

We can safely say that without the work of the Trotskyists there would be no anti-war movement as it exists today. Of course we cannot rest on our laurels – we have to continue to build the movement until every soldier is brought home.

**Quebec:** Vietnam has been a key radicalizing factor in Quebec and an inspiration to the Quebec struggle. But it has not found the same response as in English Canada in terms of mass demonstrations, or a widespread development of conscious internationalism. A more immediate question has been the national oppression which the Québécois feel every day of their lives. This has found its reflection also in the role of various left tendencies which have sprung to life around the national question. They feel little obligation to work consistently on the Vietnam question. When the Union Général des Etudiants du Québec (UGEQ) called demonstrations on November 18, 1967, more than 5000 students responded, but this has been the exception to the general lack of participation in the anti-war movement.



This makes the role of revolutionary socialists even more important. We are the only ones who understand the importance of the Vietnamese revolution, and the contribution an anti-war movement can make to the development of political, consciousness. Past actions have shown the possibilities of an anti-war movement in Quebec. In the future we shall continue to mobilize the largest possible participation in anti-war activities. Consistent work around the Vietnam issue is bound to bear fruit as the deepening of national consciousness leads to solidarity with other national struggles.

**The Students:** The student anti-war movement has played the key role in building the movement across Canada. Students have been represented on demonstrations far out of proportion to their numbers. Particularly impressive have been the high school contingents. Students have done the bulk of the work for the mass mobilizations. Single-issue, non-exclusionist membership committees have been vital in building the student anti-war movement. Initially these committees functioned on a day-to-day basis with regular educational and business meetings. With the widespread dissemination of information on Vietnam and the rise of other campus struggles, they have lost this character. They have become instead mobilization committees, bringing together anti-war forces around the major demonstrations.

The Student Association to End the War in Vietnam (SAEWV) played a key role in co-ordinating anti-war activities of students from its foundation in March 1967. It was able to gather together the only cross-Canada assemblies of anti-war activists during its period of existence. Early in 1968 its role of co-ordinating the cross-country movement was taken over by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, and it passed from the political scene. It is far more effective to mobilize students as students both in terms of their response and in terms of making long-term contacts for the anti-war movement. It is thus important to maintain and strengthen the student committees as the bulwark of the withdrawal tendency of the anti-war movement.

Opposition to campus complicity has great potential, both in terms of bringing the war issue home to students, but also in raising the broader question of the role of the university in capitalist society. We demand an end to war company recruitment, an end to all military financed research including that of the Canadian government, an end to campus recruitment by the Canadian army, and the removal of directors of war companies from the campus. All these demands are part of a strategy to free the university from the hold of the capitalist class so that it can serve the workers. In carrying such a campaign, we have to be very careful to pose the issues so that students can understand them. What is in question is the right to use campus facilities for recruitment – something that should be under the control of the students. No one is being denied the right of free speech or the right to get a job. We must call on the administration to stop the recruiters – they are complicit in the war, not the students. In certain conditions we should call for a referendum on the question. Above all, we must be sensitive to the engineers. They are being affected by the general student radicalization. We never pose that an individual working for a war company is a criminal or that individual acts such as refusing to work for such companies are effective. We pose to engineers that they join us in opposition to the war and campus complicity in it.

Solidarity actions by Canadian students with the November 14 American Student Strike against

the war will demonstrate the depth of anti-war feeling on the campuses, as will student participation in the mass demonstrations on Nov. 15.

**Conclusion:** The slogans and perspective advanced since the beginning by revolutionary socialists, have been carried out in the Canadian anti-war movement. The task before us is the broadening of the movement. The radicalization of students means that there is a wider audience than ever before. We must rise to this challenge. While more people support the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination, we should attempt to develop this basic understanding into an anti-capitalist consciousness. We must try to win anti-war activists to the fight against all wars — to the fight against capitalism and for socialism.

The anti-war movement has been a tremendous example of mass action. It has shown many people the effectiveness of mass struggle and the possibility of making a real impact on the course of history. It has also been a great training ground for revolutionary leaders who will play a key role in the future mass struggles. But, above all, the anti-war movement throughout the world has been a tremendous and effective defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

*(end)*

# young socialists ligue des jeunes socialistes

## Discussion Bulletin

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## PROJET DE RESOLUTION ANTI-GUERRE

Bulletin Interne – sept 1969 – vol. 5 no. 3

Soumis par le CEC de la LJS/YS

La guerre au Vietnam s'affirme aujourd'hui comme le point central de la confrontation mondiale entre socialisme et impérialisme. Le peuple vietnamien a démontré que la puissante machine militaire impérialiste peut être stoppée et refoulée par la lutte d'un peuple détermine. Ce fait a souligné le caractère révolutionnaire de cette décade et a été le facteur principal de la vague de radicalisation de la jeunesse qui aujourd'hui déferle sur le monde. Défendre la révolution vietnamienne est aujourd'hui le devoir de tout révolutionnaire. Puisque les vietnamiens luttent se battent contre notre ennemi commun, l'impérialisme, l'internationalisme prolétarien exige que nous fassions tout ce que nous pouvons pour les aider. Cette compréhension fondamentale est derrière notre défense conséquente de la révolution vietnamienne.

La guerre du Vietnam n'a diminuée ni en intensité ni en férocité. Le "retrait" des troupes, si tapageusement annoncé par l'administration Nixon, n'est qu'une fraude destinée à saper l'opposition populaire à la guerre. Les impérialistes ne peuvent retirer un nombre important de troupes sans perdre la guerre -- et Nixon n'a pas abandonné son objectif à long terme -- refouler la révolution vietnamienne et amener la contre-révolution jusqu'en Chine. Toutefois, chacune des manoeuvres de Nixon stimule, en même temps l'appétit du peuple américain pour de nouveaux retraits. La méfiance des américains envers leur gouvernement s'est accentuée, tout comme la détermination des vietnamiens de continuer la lutte jusqu'à la victoire.

La guerre du Vietnam a donné naissance à un mouvement international contre la guerre sur tous les continents. Ce développement s'est manifesté de façon particulièrement profonde, dans la patrie même de l'impérialisme, aux États-Unis, où le premier mouvement de masse contre une guerre en cours s'est constitué. A ce mouvement se joignent maintenant un nombre croissant de GI's (*des conscrits –ed.*), qui s'organisent contre la guerre, et exigent, ainsi, leurs droits civiques. Pour déjouer les menées de l'impérialisme, le mouvement international contre la guerre ne le cède qu'aux héroïques efforts du peuple vietnamien. Ce mouvement international a également reflété la radicalisation effectuée à l'échelle mondiale autour de la question du Vietnam et a eu l'effet d'approfondir et d'élargir cette radicalisation, particulièrement parmi la jeunesse.

Des armes, provenant des manufacturiers canadiens, continuent d'affluer aux mains des militaires américains. Des diplomates canadiens, membres de la Commission Internationale de Contrôle, servent d'espions et d'apologistes pour le Pentagone. Des hommes de science canadiens contribuent au développement d'armes chimiques et biologiques pour l'arsenal de l'impérialisme mondial. Des troupes canadiennes sont actuellement entraînées aux techniques anti-émeutes et de contre-insurrection – avec l'intention de s'en servir pour écraser les révolutions à travers le monde. Le militaire canadien se fait bien dresser et entraîner afin de jouer internationalement un important rôle - celui de "Gardien de la paix" ou d'agent secret, d'ingérence ambulante pour l'impérialisme américain lorsque les choses se gâtent.

**Les slogans:** Le slogan de base du mouvement antiguerre à travers le monde, est "Retrait immédiat des troupes américaines". Ce slogan se base sur le droit fondamental des nations à l'autodétermination". Le retrait des troupes américaines et de leurs alliés du Vietnam est essentiel pour garantir ce droit aux Vietnamiens. Les socialistes révolutionnaires ont mené une longue lutte pour faire de ce slogan le slogan principal du mouvement anti-guerre. Les forces conservatrices du mouvement anti-guerre ont tenté d'orienter le mouvement sous des revendications telle que "négociations", "arrêt des bombardements", "reconnaissance du FNL" etc. — Ces slogans ont été opposés à la revendication du retrait des troupes en tant que base de construction du mouvement antiguerre. De tels slogans, cependant en omettant la poussée l'essentiellement anti-impérialiste de la demande du retrait des troupes n'ont pas été et ne peuvent pas être la base d'une action efficace. Ils ne comportent pas d'appel explicite ou autre — pour l'autodétermination des Vietnamiens et laissent le mouvement anti-guerre libre à la désorientation par des concessions mineures de la classe dirigeante. La banqueroute du slogan "négociations" se voit maintenant dans toute son évidence surtout aux yeux des G.I.s qui se battent et meurent au Vietnam tandis que les négociations traînent à Paris.

Les ultra-gauchistes ont attaqué le slogan de retrait des troupes comme demande "libéral" qui ne dénonce pas ouvertement l'impérialisme. Ils nous disent que ce qu'il faut c'est un mouvement ouvertement anti-impérialisme avec des slogans tels que "Ecrasons l'impérialisme américain," "Victoire au FNL". Ils font une erreur sérieuse en ne comprenant pas que le retrait immédiat des troupes signifierait une défaite écrasante pour l'impérialisme américain — une victoire pour le FNL.

Les slogans "Ecrasons l'impérialisme américain" et "Victoire au FNL" bien que partent de sentiment louables, n'offrent pas de base programmatique pour construire un mouvement de masse en opposition concrète à la guerre. De tels slogans ne se portent pas vers des revendications aux gouvernements américain et canadien et n'opposent pas de solution à la politique de guerre comme le fait le slogan de "retrait des troupes." La grande force de notre slogan c'est qu'à un moment où la majorité des gens y compris les étudiants ne sont pas consciemment anti-impérialistes. Il faut mobiliser des masses de gens contre une guerre impérialiste et beaucoup parmi eux dans ce processus prendront conscience de la nature de l'impérialisme.

La justesse de notre slogan a été tout spécialement vérifiée à Toronto le 26 octobre 1968 et à Vancouver le 5 avril 1969 quand les ultra-gauchistes dans une organisation opposée au mouvement anti-guerre ayant leurs propres slogans ne purent mobiliser que 1/6 à 1/10 des effectifs des manifestations pour le retrait des troupes. Il est intéressant de noter que "Canadiens pour le FNL" qui était dominé par une secte maoïste, n'existe plus depuis qu'ils ont conclu que le FNL s'est vendu et est devenu "revisioniste."

Une autre revendication-clé sur laquelle s'est constitué le mouvement anti-guerre est "Fin à la complicité canadienne". Cette demande condamne directement le gouvernement canadien pour son aide à l'assaut impérialiste contre le Vietnam. Cela mobilise ceux qui s'opposent à cette aide et éclaire les gens sur la nature du gouvernement canadien. Nous devons démasquer le soi-disant rôle de "gardiens de la

paix" proposé par la gouvernement Trudeau, et expliquer son caractère impérialiste. "Pas de troupes canadiennes pour les guerres étrangères d'oppression." Nous devons continuer à faire passer l'opposition à la politique étrangère du gouvernement Trudeau, y compris sa participation dans les alliances impérialistes militaires OTAN et NORAD au travers de la question vietnamienne. L'opposition à la complicité canadienne, organisée par le mouvement anti-guerre, a joué un rôle dans l'empêchement d'un appui manifeste du gouvernement à l'impérialisme américain et a déjà joué un rôle en élevant la niveau de conscience sur le caractère du gouvernement impérialiste canadien.

### **Comité a but unique**

Le mouvement anti-guerre s'est construit sur la seule question du Vietnam à travers comités pour mettre fin à la guerre du Vietnam et (*à travers –ed.*) des front uniques. Cette tactique de but unique a fait ses preuves mais nous avons dû nous battre durement pour en établir le principe. D'autres tendances dans le mouvement anti-guerre (Nouvelle gauche, PC, Maoistes, Pacifistes libérales) ont essayé à maintes reprises de faire du mouvement un accessoire de leur propre mouvement. Nous savons qu'imposer un programme politique à buts divers tendrait à limiter la grandeur et l'efficacité du mouvement,

### **Exclusionisme**

Nous avons avec conséquence tenté de rassembler toutes les forces opposées à la guerre sur la base d'un front unique autour de revendications de principe de retrait des troupes et de fin à la complicité. Les comités de mobilisation ou de coordination qui réunissent ou tente de réunir toutes les forces opposées à la guerre sont maintenant le véhicule de base pour l'organisation anti-guerre à travers le pays . En ce moment le Comité de Mobilisation sur le Vietnam à Toronto fondé le 2 mars 1968 est le comité anti-guerre le plus important au Canada. C'est une coalition entre les socialistes révolutionnaires, les membres du NPD, les militants indépendants et sur une base quelque peu moins stable, les membres du PC et les pacifistes. Ça a été le premier comité à établir un bureau et unique à plein temps.

On a souvent tenté d'exclure les autres tendances du mouvement anti-guerre et le plus souvent le trotskysts. Nous nous y sommes toujours fortement opposés. Nous avons défendu et gagné le droit pour toutes les tendances de participer au mouvements, de distribuer leur littérature librement et de pouvoir porter leurs propres slogans aux manifestations.

La tendance pour le retrait des troupes a été exclue des comités de coordination à Toronto et à Vancouver durant l'été '66, pour les raisons qu'elle appuyait un mouvement à but unique et voulait l'affilier au mouvement anti-guerre américaine et mondial. La coalition ne se reforma pas avant la réussite de la Journée de Protestation Etudiante du 11 novembre '66, organisée par la tendance pour le retrait des troupes. Une autre scission se produisit à Toronto après le 21 octobre 1967 quand les membres du PC et les pacifistes

du comité de coordination de Toronto se retirèrent parce qu'un orateur de l'aile étudiante pour le retrait des troupes insistait sur son droit de parole à la manifestation.

### **Action de masse**

Les socialistes révolutionnaires ont conséquemment mis en avant la position qu'il est nécessaire de descendre dans la rue et d'organiser des manifestations de masse. Cette position allait à l'encontre de l'orientation de l'aile droite vers des appels réformistes au gouvernement et de la tendance ultra-gauchiste vers les héroïques affrontements individuels avec la police. Nous avons montré que la seule action efficace est l'action de masse qui peut forcer le gouvernement à un changement dans sa politique et élever le niveau de conscience des travailleurs canadiens.

### **Croissance et perspectives**

Le développement du mouvement anti-guerre a été largement dû à l'intervention consciente des socialistes révolutionnaires pour influencer sa direction. Le mouvement a fait de grands pas aussi bien en termes de politique que d'effectifs depuis sa création dans la deuxième moitié de 1965. Le mouvement est maintenant solidement basé sur les revendications de retrait des troupes et de fin à la complicité canadienne. On rejette largement le rôle de gardien de la paix pour le gouvernement Canadien. Le mouvement est maintenant capable de mobiliser plusieurs milliers de personnes dans les villes majeures (10,000 à Toronto le 6 avril 1969). Il a joué un rôle important dans le mouvement anti-guerre mondial en rendant très difficile l'aide du gouvernement canadien à l'aggression imperialiste autre part alors que la majorité des canadiens indubitablement suppose à la guerre. Seulement une petite minorité a été mobilisée. Le gros des manifestants a été la jeunesse étudiante avec une faible représentation syndicale. Alors qu'il y a eu l'appui formel du NPD et de quelques syndicats importants, cela n'a donné que peu de participation de leurs rangs. L'appui formel est bien sûr très important mais nous devons continuer à pousser le NPD et les syndicats pour qu'ils donnent du poids au mouvement anti-guerre en mobilisant leurs rangs.

Jusqu'à maintenant le gouvernement a réussi quelque peu à cacher ses intentions réelles par le fait que le Canada est quelque peu à l'écart de la guerre. Cependant, avec la crise montante de l'impérialisme mondial nous pouvons nous attendre à ce que 1) la nature impérialiste du gouvernement canadien va être de plus en plus mise en évidence à mesure qu'il doit envoyer des troupes au Vietnam ou ailleurs et 2) les luttes sociales en général vont augmenter rendant les travailleurs plus responsables envers le mouvement anti-guerre.

Les perspectives prévoient la croissance du mouvement anti-guerre élargissant son appui parmi les étudiants et les travailleurs. La journée internationale de protestation du 15 novembre sera un stade important dans ce processus.

## **Rôle des tendances**

La guerre a constitué un test crucial pour les tendances de gauche. Seuls les socialistes révolutionnaires ont été conséquents dans leur défense de la révolution vietnamienne et par suite ont pu recruter parmi les milliers de jeunes radicalisés sur cette question. Le Parti Communiste s'est séparé à maintes reprises du mouvement anti-guerre sur la revendication de retrait des troupes et a avec conséquence essayé d'introduire des tactiques d'exclusion dans le mouvement. Les réformistes n'ont montré aucun désir de mobiliser les forces du NPD et du mouvement ouvrier et ont fourni une justification à la complicité du Canada en acceptant l'idée que le gouvernement peut être "gardien de la paix". Les ultra-gauchistes - à la fois les sponanéistes et les maoïstes - ont refusé de participer dans le mouvement anti-guerre pour des raisons telles que le Vietnam n'est pas un enjeu, ou que le mouvement n'est pas anti-impérialiste ou que le FNL s'est vendu.

Nous pouvons dire en toute sécurité que sans le travail des Trotskystes il n'y aurait pas eu de mouvement anti-guerre tel qu'il existe aujourd'hui. Bien sûr nous ne pouvons pas nous reposer sur nos lauriers -- nous devons continuer à construire le mouvement jusqu'à ce que tous les soldats soient ramenés chez eux.

**Québec:** Le Vietnam a été un facteur radicalisant clef au Québec et une grande inspiration pour la lutte québécoise. Mais la question n'a pas trouvé la même réponse qu'au Canada Anglais en termes de manifestations de masse ou de large développement de l'internationalisme conscient. L'oppression nationale que vivent chaque jour les Québécois est une question plus immédiate. Cela s'est reflété aussi dans le rôle des diverses tendances de gauche qui sont liées autour de la question nationale. Elles se sentent peu obligées à travailler conséquemment sur la question vietnamienne. Quand l'UGEQ a appelé une manifestation le 18 novembre 1967 plus de 5,000 étudiants ont répondu mais ceci a été l'exception au manque général de participation au mouvement anti-guerre.

Cela rend le rôle des socialistes révolutionnaires encore plus important. Nous sommes les seuls à comprendre l'importance de la révolution vietnamienne et la contribution qu'un mouvement anti-guerre peut apporter au développement du niveau de conscience politique. Les actions passées ont démontré les possibilités d'un mouvement anti-guerre au Québec. À l'avenir nous allons continuer à mobiliser le plus grand nombre possible dans les activités anti-guerre. Un travail conséquent autour de la question vietnamienne est appelé à porter fruit en autant que l'approfondissement de la conscience nationale mène à la solidarité avec les autres luttes nationales.

## **Les étudiants**

Le mouvement étudiant anti-guerre a joué un rôle clef dans la construction du mouvement à travers le Canada. La représentation étudiante aux manifestations a été proportionnellement bien au-dessus de leurs effectifs. Ce sont les contingents des écoles secondaires qui ont été particulièrement impressionnants. Les étudiants ont fourni le gros



du travail pour les mobilisations de masse. Des comités à but unique avec une politique de non-exclusion ont été vitaux dans la construction du mouvement anti-guerre étudiant. Initialement ces comités fonctionnaient sur une base quotidienne de réunions régulières d'éducation ou d'action. Avec la large diffusion d'informations sur le Vietnam et la montée d'autres luttes sur les campus, ils ont perdu ce caractère. Ils se sont transformés en comités de mobilisation, réunissant les forces anti-guerre pour les manifestations majeures.

“L'association des Etudiants pour mettre fin à la guerre du Vietnam” (SAEWV) a joué un rôle-clé dans la coordination des activités anti-guerre étudiantes depuis sa fondation en mars 1967. Elle a pu rassembler les seules assemblées trans-canadiennes de militants anti-guerre durant sa période d'activité. Au début de 1968 ce rôle de coordination du mouvement trans-canadien a été pris en charge par le Comité de Mobilisation sur le Vietnam et elle a disparu de la scène politique.

Il est beaucoup plus efficace de mobiliser les étudiants comme étudiants vue la réponse qu'ils donnent et vue la possibilité d'en faire des contacts à long terme du mouvement anti-guerre. C'est pourquoi il est important de maintenir et de renforcer les comités étudiants en tant que place-forte pour la tendance du retrait des troupes dans le mouvement anti-guerre.

L'opposition à la complicité des campus est chargée d'un grand potentiel à la fois pour sensibiliser sur leur propre domaine des étudiants à la question de la guerre et pour soulever la question plus large du rôle de l'université dans la société capitaliste. Nous exigeons la fin du recrutement par les compagnies complice dans la guerre, la fin de toute recherche militaire financée y compris celle du gouvernement canadien, la fin du recrutement sur les campus par l'armée canadienne et le renvoi des campus des directeurs de compagnies de guerre. Toutes ces revendications font partie de la stratégie pour libérer l'université de l'emprise de la classe capitaliste afin qu'elle puisse servir les travailleurs.

En menant une telle campagne, nous devons faire très attention à poser ces questions de façon à ce que les étudiants puissent les comprendre. Ce qui est en question c'est le droit d'utiliser les locaux universitaires pour le recrutement -- quelque chose qui devrait être sous le contrôle étudiant. On ne refuse à personne le droit à la liberté de parole ou le droit au travail. Nous devons demander à l'administration d'arrêter les recruteurs -- elle est complice de la guerre -- pas les étudiants. Dans certaines conditions nous pourrions demander un référendum sur la question. Avant tout, nous devons être sensibles envers les gens de poly (*écoles polytechniques* —ed.). Ils sont affectés par la radicalisation étudiante générale. Nous n'avons jamais avancé qu'un travail individuel pour une compagnie de guerre est un crime ou que des actes individuels comme le refus de travailler pour de telles compagnies sont efficace. Nous proposons aux étudiants de poly qu'ils se joignent à nous dans l'opposition à la guerre et à la complicité des campus.

Des actions de solidarité de la part des étudiants canadiens à la grève des étudiants

américains du 14 novembre contre la guerre vont démontrer la profondeur du sentiment anti-guerre sur les campus comme la participation étudiante dans les manifestations de masse du 15 novembre.

## **Conclusion**

Les slogans et les perspectives mises en avant depuis le début par les socialistes révolutionnaires, ont été réalisés au sein du mouvement anti-guerre canadien. Nous avons devant nous la tâche d'élargir le mouvement. La radicalisation des étudiants signifie une audience plus large que jamais. Nous devons relever ce défi. Alors que plus de gens appuient le droit des Vietnamiens à l'auto-détermination, nous devons tenter de transformer cette compréhension de base en conscience anti-capitaliste. Nous devons essayer de gagner les militants anti-guerre au combat contre toute guerre -- au combat contre le capitalisme pour le socialisme.

Le mouvement anti-guerre a été un énorme exemple d'action de masse. Il a montré à beaucoup de gens l'efficacité de la lutte de masse et la possibilité de voir un réel impact sur le déroulement de l'histoire. Il a été aussi une bonne base d'entraînement pour les leaders révolutionnaires qui ont un rôle-clef dans les futures luttes de masse. Mais avant tout le mouvement anti-guerre mondial a été une défense efficace et énorme de la révolution Vietnamienne.

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Projet de résolution sur le mouvement anti-guerre.

(6pp)

# young socialists ligue des jeunes socialistes

(Founded in Sept. 1969)

## Discussion Bulletin

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- (E) Draft Quebec Resolution,  
submitted by the CEC (107p)



vol. 5 ,  
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## DRAFT QUEBEC RESOLUTION

- submitted by the YS/LJS  
Central Executive Council

Recent Quebec history has seen a massive radicalization of youth, far beyond the level reached in English Canada. The special radicalizing factor has been the consciousness of the national oppression of the Quebecois. ~~In many cases~~ this national oppression has given birth to mass struggles, as in the present movement for a French-only school system. And in all the mass struggles of youth (e.g., the October 1968 occupation movement in the schools, the militancy of young trade unionists) the national struggle has profoundly shaped the demands, forms and character of their movements, and given them a militancy and scope that is so far exceptional in Canada.

French Canada is a nation. The French Canadian people have a common culture, history of oppression as a nation, geographical area, national consciousness, and above all a common language. Quebec is clearly seen as the homeland of the French Canadian nation and national consciousness has developed historically in the territory of Quebec, although it does extend outside its boundaries.

The French Canadian nation was conquered and subjugated by British imperialism and incorporated into the Canadian state as a semi-colony first of British imperialism and now of English Canadian and U.S. imperialism, backed up by the power of the English-Canadian bourgeoisie's federal government.

One cannot understand a thing about Quebec if one does not understand that it is a nation. Socialists recognize that nations have the right to self determination. And Quebec is not just a nation but a nation oppressed by imperialism. Quebec is owned and ruled by a foreign bourgeoisie. Historically imperialism has used and fostered national differences to create differences between all oppressed classes including within the working class and in order to oppress certain nations as colonies or semi-colonies such as Quebec. Even though Quebec is a highly industrialized area, it is nevertheless a low-wage area, with an economy centered around extraction of natural resources for export. This situation has been justified on the basis that the French Canadians are somehow inferior. Therefore the Quebecois are oppressed not only as workers but also as Quebecois.

The Quebecois are members of an oppressed nation as is seen by the fact that unemployment is higher, education is inferior, their language is being attacked, and their wages are lower than the average in Canada. The language question is the focal point of the national question at this time. The struggle against national oppression is progressive and must have the full ~~support~~ <sup>participation</sup> of revolutionaries.

More than that, in the age of permanent revolution, only a socialist revolution can achieve the full national aspirations of the French Canadian people. Because the source of the national oppression is capitalism, the national struggle must become a class struggle against capitalism. In Quebec "Capital speaks English". In the final analysis the language confrontation is a class confrontation between French worker and English boss. Only the working class can lead this struggle to victory -- achieving national liberation through the overthrow of capitalism -- through socialist revolution.

The national bourgeoisie are totally incapable of solving the national question because of their total dependence on imperialism. They realize that a capitalist Quebec can survive only with massive investments from English Canada and the United States, and with a relationship with the capitalist world market. Economic independence and therefore political independence is totally unthinkable without

*real (the nat'l liberation)*



breaking from the control of Anglo-Canadian and U.S. imperialism. But native capital has too narrow a base in this far too weak to be able to break Anglo-imperialism. The economy on a capitalist basis would be thrown into an insoluble crisis were this to happen.

Because of the weakness of the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie has played an unusually prominent social role. It has been the chief spokesman for Quebec nationalism and has wielded significant influence through provincial governments. Quebec provincial governments have engaged in many disputes with the federal government to win concessions for the Quebec petty bourgeoisie and the French Canadian nation, but the record has shown their great weakness. Ambitious economic projects have been stalemated.

The petty bourgeoisie, caught as it is between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the highly organized working class has shown itself completely impotent. The bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are incapable then of posing any solution to the national question within the context of Quebec capitalism.

The working class is the only class which can solve the national question. The working class has absolutely no interest in maintaining capitalism, its interest is to replace it with socialism. The working class is a mighty force in highly industrialized Quebec society. It has the power to transform Quebec society completely. It can win to its side, to its program, the broad layers of the petty bourgeoisie and farmers. The working class will only solve the national question through a socialist revolution which only it can accomplish. A socialist revolution will wrest the control of Quebec out of the hands of imperialism and the native bourgeoisie.

The powerful, though still emerging strength of the working class has rocked Quebec in the fierce labor struggles of recent years. The union movement has grown rapidly, winning to its ranks broad new layers (teachers, public, white collar employees, etc.), and revealing its potential strength (though only a hint of it) in broad and militant struggles including even the armed occupation of a factory last year. Yet the leadership of the working class organizations ~~has no concept of~~ <sup>oppress</sup> ~~wielding~~ <sup>economic</sup> this power as a means to organize the masses for the national and social liberation of Quebec. Their limited perspective of purely reformist struggle on the trade union level has left the union movement open to increasingly vicious anti-labor measures of the provincial and federal governments. They have failed to link labor's struggles to the aspirations of the Quebecois for national liberation, to link up effectively with the struggles of other social layers -- the students, the farmers.

The clearest proof of their failure is the lack of an organized party, to express and carry out its political interests in the contest for power with the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties. The lack of a labor party leaves labor without a choice in the contest for power and prevents the workers' independent working class demands from becoming generalized on the political level in a struggle for power. It is absolutely essential that the struggle of labor be given an independent organized political form -- a labor party.

Following upon World War II and continuing to this day there occurred mass organization of Quebec labor and increasing demands for better wages and working conditions. Those demands inevitably take on a national character due to the double oppression of Quebec workers, as workers and as Quebecois. A sector of the national bourgeoisie attempted to meet this mass upsurge through restructuring the Quebec economy, attempting to lessen national disparities in line with the technological advances of neo-capitalism. Since the source of Quebec's economic backwardness was its semi-colonial status, this attempt was fruitless.

The rising demands of Quebec labor came directly into contradiction with the semi-colonial economic status of Quebec. What the Quebec bourgeoisie desired was a bit more of the profits and a bit more flexibility to deal with the working class but this was not possible.



This was expressed concretely in their attempts to reform the educational system by creating the CEGEPs and proposing deconfessionalization in the Parent Report, but they were incapable of carrying these reforms through effectively because the distorted, extractive character of the Quebec economy over which they had no control could not sustain the sophisticated educational system which they proposed.

The expansion of facilities for higher education occurred in Quebec but in a distorted form. With the establishment of the CEGEPs, those attending institutions of higher learning in Quebec came to constitute one percent of the population. Ten years ago there were 3,600 students at the University of Montreal, in 1968 there were 18,600. More than 50% of the CEGEP students came from working class backgrounds. At U of M 36% of the students come from working class families and in the faculty of science the figure is 54% and poly technical 67%.

The perspective for these students is very dismal largely due to the results of national oppression. Education for those speaking French is inferior. The taxation for schools is based on religion. This means that the largely English speaking Protestant schools are supported by the taxes of the more wealthy English speaking schools are supported by the taxes of the impoverished French Canadians. One just has to compare the opulence of Dawson College, an English CEGEP, with the inadequacy of the average French CEGEP. \* while the largely Catholic French

This also applies to the universities. McGill has received huge grants from the government of Quebec, in addition to the bulk of corporation subsidies. In Montreal last year there were 21,000 English speaking university students and 18,000 French speaking. Up to the sixties there was little scientific research in Quebec and what research is done now is done mostly in English. Professionals generally have to integrate into the English milieu to get good jobs. For the French, Quebec is a low wage economically distorted enclave out of which there is no possibility of mobility for those not willing to abandon their national rights (even those French Canadians who do work in English, figures show, don't get very far). National oppression strikes French Canadian youth when they try to get a job, in conditions of work, and in the high rate of unemployment. They often have to speak English on the job. Cultural oppression is most clearly expressed through language, and so the struggle for French unilingualism takes on a revolutionary character.

Bilingualism means for the Quebecois, the necessity to learn and function in English, particularly in industry and commerce. It is a transmission belt to anglicization, and a liberal cover for national oppression. There is only one partially bilingual area in Canada and that is Quebec. When there is a choice between English and French and when business functions in English the tendency is clear. It is estimated that within 15 years Montreal will be a majority English-speaking city. The struggle for unilingualism is the front line of the struggle for the survival of the Quebec nation. A unilingual school system is a means of stemming assimilation. The Quebec bourgeoisie has shown its clear subservience to imperialism by opposing this demand.

The international radicalization has had an important impact on Quebec youth. Vietnam has served as an important radicalizing factor, although not yet resulting in the same mass mobilizations and internationalist consciousness for reasons outlined in the anti-war document. There have been some large demonstrations such as the mobilization of a few thousand Quebec youth across Quebec by UGEQ in Nov. 67, but not with the same frequency as in English Canada. France has also had a big impact as was to be seen in the October CEGEP occupations and through most of the militant tendencies expressed through UGEQ before October.

The only movement which has been able to overcome the gap between the radicalization of the mass and the lack of leadership has been the unilingual movement. Although it is not highly organized and lacks a structure it has been able to call thousands into the streets. The reasons for its success have been the power and appeal of the issue of unilingualism, its sticking to that single issue and its emphasis on mass mobilization. It has been key in preventing the demoralization which followed the decline of the CEGEP occupation movement from being more long term and has shown the way to lead the movement forward despite the fact that it does not replace the need for a conscious socialist student leadership.

### Our Tasks and Perspectives:

The situation in Quebec provides unique opportunities for our movement. On the one hand the national question has led to a far wider layer of radicalized youth than in English Canada and on the other is the crisis of leadership. The other left tendencies are generally weaker in Quebec. Only our movement has met the test and continued to grow and deepen its roots in the French Canadian milieu.

The key tasks that stand before us are the assembling of the essential cadres and their training in the program and outlook of Trotskyism in the LJS/LSO and the intervening in the living struggle to take the leadership of the student movement. Key to our ability to do this is our transitional program. Our program addresses itself to the particular needs of the students and young workers while at the same time leading them into conflict with the bourgeois state. Our program is understandable and it is posed in such a way as to win the support of the mass of students and workers. Often this requires defensively posed demands, that is demands which do not cut across bourgeois democratic rights but base themselves on these concepts in order to mobilize the mass against the bourgeois state. At the same time our program poses demands which the bourgeois are unable to meet and thus educating youth in the socialist outlook and leading the movement forward to the struggle for power.

Some of the demands in a transitional program for the Quebec student movement are:

- Teach the true history of the national struggle of French Canada.
- For a non-religious, state-run, free, unilingual school system financed through the taxing of the rich, the giant corporations.
- The expansion of the university and all other school facilities both in size and quality to meet the needs of Quebec students.
- For French as the language of industry, commerce, government and education.
- For a student salary.
- For student-faculty control of the schools.
- Guaranteed jobs for all graduates in their area of study, guaranteed jobs for all youth at a decent standard of living.
- Cops off the campus, out of the schools.
- End sexual, social, economic and legal oppression of women.
- For student choice of textbooks and adequate textual materials in French.

The LJS intervened effectively with its program in the CEGEP occupation movement and was the only force to attempt to give the



struggle leadership. Out of this intervention the LJS drew to itself for the first time significant French Canadian forces. We have also intervened dynamically in the unilingual movement, helping to maintain its mass, single issue character. The LJS is so far the only Quebec left tendency to carry any struggle around the question of women's liberation.

The overall task of the LJS is to win youth to the socialist perspective of the national question under its leadership. The LJS puts forward the perspective of the revolutionary leadership of the working class in the national struggle, in terms of the immediate tasks at hand - namely the creation of a working class political party. In putting forward this orientation we provide the perspective of opening up the impasse of Quebec labor, nationalist and student movements and the basis of struggle against the petty bourgeois tendencies on the left and right.

It is the elementary duty of the LJS to educate youth in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, both in terms of the strategic importance of the fullest possible unity with the revolutionary forces in English Canada, and in terms of the world revolution. Revolutionary internationalism means above all, at this time, the defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The LJS must decisively intervene in the day to day struggle for national rights, and in particular the struggle for French unilingualism in Quebec, on the broadest level, and most specifically as this question affects student youth. We attempt to assure that the movement remains single issue and avoids the pitfalls of electoralism, remaining a militant, mass movement.

The problem which faces the LJS at this time is how best to move into the leadership of the student movement. This requires first of all the building of the LJS, specifically JS clubs on all campuses and high schools, and the embryo of the vanguard party, the LSO. We cannot lead unless we recruit and develop the cadres capable of applying the transitional program to the student movement and leading mass struggles. Our first priority is the development of such cadre, This requires a strategical plan of active intervention into the struggles of to-day. There is of course no dichotomy between cadre-building and struggling for the leadership of the student movement, in fact the two go hand in hand.

? what show do they intervene?

We immerse ourselves in the struggles going on now. To lead we must find the bridge between the mass base of militants and the revolutionary leadership. That bridge exists in the transitional program concretely applied. We intervene in the movement on the level of action by organizing where possible mass mobilizations around transitional demands, by challenging the other tendencies to unite in the leadership of such mobilizations. On the propagandistic level we educate the radicalizing youth on the need for a revolutionary working class party and the struggle for socialism. Our ascendancy to leadership will come through the development and expansion of our own cadre and through showing in the struggle the correctness of our leadership and program before the mass.

English Canadian Youth

English Canadian and immigrant youth are part of the ethnic minorities within the French Canadian nation. Many of these youth feel threatened by the national struggle and in particular, unilingualism. In reality their interests lie with the liberatory struggle of the French Canadian working class. They have no interest in the oppression of Quebec by English Canadian and American capital. The future socialist revolution which will solve the national question in Quebec will free English Canadian and immigrant youth from their oppression as youth and free English Canadian and immigrant workers from their oppression under capitalism. This oppression is often strengthened by the divisions created between English-speaking, immigrant, and French speaking workers. Youth from ethnic minorities must be won to support for self-determination and further, to support for a unilingual Quebec now.

Young Women

Young women are beginning to enter the struggle in greater numbers although there are still few involved. Young women are triply oppressed as women, as Québécois as workers and as youth. Discrimination against women is even more blatant in Quebec than in English Canada. The laws, family, Church, etc have conspired to relegate women to an inferior social role and constitute great barriers in the way of women's liberation. It is important that in the developing radicalization young women begin to organize for their liberation. The Quebec movement stands before an indispensable task -- the active involvement of women at all levels, particularly in the leadership of the movement.

### Characterization of the Youth Radicalization:

The continuing and increasing impact of the national question combined with the awakening effect of the "Quiet Revolution" have developed a generation of youth which is both conscious of national oppression and prepared to fight it. In Quebec we find wide layers of radicalized youth, both students and workers. Since the radicalization is in response to direct, overt oppression the layer of radicalized youth is broader than in English Canada. At the same time, because the national question can only be solved through a working class revolution, there is a great potential for consciousness to develop rapidly. There is a great receptivity to socialism.

The present situation is that wide layers of the radicalized youth lack any real working class political traditions. There is not, nor has there ever been, any working class political party of any significance. Leadership of Quebec politics has always been divided between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. In the past the petty bourgeoisie have always been the leaders on the national question. Although it is becoming more and more clear to wider layers that the petty bourgeoisie is unable to lead the national struggle in the direction that it must take, the youth give wide support to the petty bourgeois electoralist Parti Quebecois in the absence of deep political understanding of the radicalized layers and the absence of a labor party.

The student movement must move towards joining forces with the working class if it is going to play a positive role in the revolutionary process. On the whole the radicalized students recognize the working class as a progressive force and there has been far Greater solidarity with the worker's struggles by the students in Quebec, but they do not understand clearly the role or potential of the working class. The linking with the class is extremely difficult in the absence of a mass labor party. This absence makes it difficult for the radicalized youth to see the perspective of the working class struggle. This is the objective basis for the attempts to find short cuts in the struggle against capitalism. This building of a mass labor party is key not only for the development of the working class but would also qualitatively facilitate the motion of the student movement towards the class.

The dominant characteristics of the radicalized youth are militancy, impatience and a search for revolutionary solutions. Given the political crisis of the working class this causes a strong tendency to ultra-leftism, spontaneism and petty bourgeois reformism as well. Ultra-leftism and spontaneism are not dominant in the student movement but pose out chief competition among the other left political tendencies, in particular the FLP, an ultra-left, spontaneist current. The radicalized youth are characterized by great instability and explosiveness. There is a great searching for solutions, for ways out, a rapid testing of organisations and programs.

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Tasks in English Canada:

~~The national struggle in Quebec has not yet received a significant response from English Canadian students. There is great interest but little solidarity and understanding.~~ This is not to say that the national struggle in Quebec will not become a key radicalizing factor as the black struggle has been in the states, indeed it will. \*

We must dedicate ourselves to more active support for the national struggle both through propaganda and specific solidarity actions where possible, winning English Canadian and immigrant youth to support for self-determination and French unilingualism. Only we are able to provide the revolutionary socialist analysis and program on this question.



## Other tendencies

Parti Quebecois: The PQ is a petty bourgeois party both in social base and program. At the same time, however, it is the major political party that claims to be nationalist. But its nationalism only goes so far as a program for constitutional independence, and consequently economic interdependence within the English Canadian capitalist market, thus making some reforms in the framework of the present Canadian state. This shows the bankruptcy of the petty bourgeoisie in dealing with the national question. It is a party which attempts to unite all sectors, all classes of Quebec society and in this way blurs the real class nature of the national question. But being the major nationalist political party, the PQ has won support, or at least critical support, of the vast majority of youth militants who see the PQ as a step forward for the independentist movement. The PQ obscures the need for a real working class alternative. It is an obstacle in the way of the necessary direction the national struggle must take, that is a socialist direction.

Front de Liberation Populaire: The FLP is a tendency which has been able to carry some mobilizations recently. They consider themselves socialist and independentist; they consider themselves to be the revolutionary party. They have many of the characteristics of a petty bourgeois revolutionary tendency. They counterpose a spark theory of mobilizations to building a mass movement through a transitional program. They feel that the revolution will be made by bringing people into the streets and not by developing a proletarian vanguard party which sinks its roots in the mass movement and at the crucial moment leads the proletariat to power. They have no worked out strategy for winning the working class to socialism. They tend to oppose the trade unions and speak to the workers from the outside. The FLP are the organized expression of spontaneism and are our main organized opposition in the student movement at this time.

Terrorism: The terrorist tendency, which considers itself revolutionary, sees its role as the agitation and awakening of the mass through bombings. Its targets over the last period have been companies involved in union and national struggles. The same criticisms apply against terrorism as against the spark theory of the FLP. Terrorist bombings open up the whole radical movement for attack because they create an atmosphere in which the bourgeoisie can attempt to isolate and victimize the radicals. Terrorism is the worst expression of the general impatience of the Quebec youth left and must be combatted vigorously.

Other groups: The Stalinists (pro-Moscow) and the Social Democrats at this time have virtually no forces and no following among Quebec students. The opposition, however covert, of both these political tendencies to the national struggle in Quebec immediately limits their appeal.

The Maoists are represented by the Internationalists and the Canadian Party of Labour. They are primarily based on the English Canadian campuses. The Canadian Party of Labour considers the national struggle to be reactionary while the Internationalists give it lip service while denouncing French unilingualism as "racist".

## The Key Problems of the Youth Radicalization:

The key problems are those of leadership and organisation. On the one hand there is a widespread radicalization, on the other, there is almost no leadership and no forms of mass organisation since the death of UGEQ.

The crisis of leadership was posed clearly last year by the tremendous spontaneous occupation of the CEGEPs and the subsequent developments. The spontaneous occupations caused by the sudden realization of the bankruptcy of the school system, could only be sustained, win partial victories and defend themselves adequately with a correct leadership understanding the necessity of fighting for transitional demands and appealing for mass support from the population. This the UGEQ leadership was totally incapable of providing. Before October they were characterized by verbal radicalism and bureaucratic operating. They had no connection with the mass and no concept of how to lead it. Challenged by the events, they retreated into total inactivity and abject spontaneism to justify their dismal failure to lead. Taking their spontaneism to its logical extreme they abdicated from giving leadership and UGEQ died. At the congress held in May there was no tendency able or willing to give leadership to UGEQ, including ourselves. With UGEQ falling apart we did not feel that we wanted to take the responsibility for it nor were we in a position to save it.

The fall of UGEQ was a result of its leadership and/program and not because of the eclipsing of the need for broad defensive student formations particularly in the height of the struggle. The need for co-ordination of student struggles and leadership exists and increases, be they around specific student demands or around the national question and other broad social questions. Such co-ordination will undoubtedly reappear in some form in the process of the struggle.

The Mouvement Syndical Politique is a very heterogeneous student organisation regrouping many of the more active militants together through their individual school cells or through broader action committees on campus. It arose out of the dissolution of UGEQ and poses itself as the leadership of student struggles. The MSP lacks any defined ideology although the FLP is one of the leading tendencies in the group.

As yet we have had no real experience with the MSP aside from our recent exclusion from its founding congress. One thing is clear, unless the MSP adopts a mass perspective and a (E) the questions facing Quebec students, it will not be able to deal with the questions of leadership, organisation and program of the student movement, even for a time. We will work with and within the MSP where possible, recognizing that it contains many good elements and is very fluid in its development.

There exists at the present time no mass student organisations or leadership with hegemony over the student movement. The militants are scattered. There are more tendencies than ever before but less unified leadership. There exists a mass radical student base but no one but the unilingual movement has yet been able to mobilize it.

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- (F) 1- Résolution sur le Québec. (11pp)  
Soumis par le CUC  
2- Secteurs d'intervention  
Soumis par la tendance minoritaire.

## PROJET DE RESOLUTION SUR LE QUEBEC

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Ce document est une mise en application de la ligne du projet de Résolution Politique sur le mouvement étudiant québécois.

L'histoire récente du Québec a vu une radicalisation massive de la jeunesse, bien au-delà du niveau atteint au Canada anglais. Le facteur principal de radicalisation a été la prise de conscience de l'oppression nationale des Québécois. Dans plusieurs cas, cette oppression nationale a donné naissance à des luttes de masse, comme présentement dans le mouvement pour les écoles unilingues françaises. Et dans toutes les luttes de masse de la jeunesse (e.g., occupation d'octobre 1968, le militantisme des jeunes syndiqués) les formes et le caractère de ces mouvements ont été imprégnés par la lutte nationale de même que les revendications, et leur a inculqué les vues et le militantisme; ce qui est très exceptionnel au Canada.

Le Canada français est une nation. Les Canadiens-français ont une culture commune, l'histoire de l'oppression en tant que nation, un territoire, une conscience nationale, et par-dessus tout une langue commune. Le Québec est réellement vu comme la mère patrie de la nation canadienne-française et la conscience nationale s'est développée historiquement au Québec, bien qu'il existe des canadiens-français hors de cette frontière. La nation canadienne fut conquise et assujettie par l'impérialisme anglais et incorporé dans l'état du Canada comme une semi-colonie d'abord par l'impérialisme britannique et maintenant par l'impérialisme anglais et américain, soutenus par le gouvernement fédéral de la bourgeoisie canadienne-anglaise.

On ne peut rien comprendre du Québec si on ne comprend pas que c'est une nation. Les socialistes reconnaissent qu'une nation a le droit à l'autodétermination. Et le Québec n'est pas simplement une nation, mais une nation opprimée par l'impérialisme. Le Québec est possédé et dominé par une bourgeoisie étrangère. Historiquement, l'impérialisme a utilisé et encouragé les différences nationales pour créer des divisions entre toutes les classes opprimées, y compris la classe ouvrière, et de cette façon opprimer certaines nations comme colonie (ou) semi-colonie comme le Québec. Bien que le Québec soit hautement industrialisé, il est néanmoins sous-payé, avec une économie centrée sur l'extraction des ressources naturelles en vue de l'exportation. Cette situation a été justifiée par le postulat que les Canadiens-français sont, d'une façon ou d'une autre, inférieurs. Ainsi les Québécois sont opprimés non seulement comme travailleurs mais aussi comme Québécois. Les Québécois font partie d'une nation opprimée, on peut voir cela par le fait que le chômage est élevé, l'éducation inférieure, leur langue attaquée, et que leur salaire est inférieur à la moyenne canadienne. La question linguistique est le point focal de la question nationale à ce moment. La lutte contre l'oppression nationale est progressiste et doit avoir le plein appui des révolutionnaires.

Plus que tout cela, à l'époque de la révolution permanente, seule une révolution socialiste peut mener à bonne fin l'aspiration des Canadiens-français. Parce que la source de l'oppression nationale est le capitalisme, la lutte nationale doit devenir une lutte de classes contre le capitalisme. Au Québec "Capital speaks English". En dernière analyse, la confrontation linguistique est une

confrontation entre l'ouvrier francophone et le patron anglais. Seule la classe ouvrière peut conduire cette lutte à la victoire -- menée à bonne fin la libération nationale à travers le renversement du capitalisme -- par une révolution socialiste.

La bourgeoisie nationale est totalement incapable de résoudre; la question nationale à cause de son entière dépendance envers l'impérialisme. Elle réalise qu'un Québec capitaliste ne peut survivre qu'avec des investissements du Canada-anglais et des Etats-Unis, et avec des relations avec le marché capitaliste mondial. L'indépendance économique et par conséquent l'indépendance politique est totalement impensable sans briser le contrôle de l'impérialisme canadien-anglais et américain. Mais le capital québécois a une base trop limitée et trop faible pour pouvoir rompre avec l'impérialisme.

L'économie sur une base capitaliste serait jetée dans une crise insoluble si cela se produisait. A cause de la faiblesse de la bourgeoisie nationale, la petite-bourgeoisie a joué un rôle social extraordinairement prédominant. Elle a été le principal porte-parole pour le nationalisme et a eu une influence significative à travers le gouvernement. Les gouvernements provinciaux du Québec ont engagé de nombreux accrochages avec le gouvernement fédéral en vue de gagner des concessions pour la petite-bourgeoisie du Québec et pour la nation canadienne-française mais l'épreuve a montré leur grande faiblesse. D'ambitieux projets économiques se sont avérés des impasses.

La petite-bourgeoisie, prise comme elle l'est entre la bourgeoisie impérialiste et la classe ouvrière hautement organisée a montré sa totale impuissance. La bourgeoisie et la petite-bourgeoisie sont donc incapables d'avancer une solution à la question nationale dans le contexte du capitalisme québécois.

La classe ouvrière est la seule classe qui peut résoudre la question nationale. La classe ouvrière n'a aucun intérêt à maintenir le capitalisme; son intérêt est de le remplacer par le socialisme. La classe ouvrière représente une force puissante dans une société québécoise hautement industrialisée. Elle a le pouvoir de transformer complètement la société québécoise. Elle peut gagner à ses côtés, à son programme, de larges couches petites-bourgeoises et de cultivateurs. La classe ouvrière résoudra la question nationale par une révolution socialiste et c'est la tâche qu'elle seule peut accomplir. La révolution socialiste arrachera le contrôle du Québec des mains de l'impérialisme et de la bourgeoisie autochtone.

La puissance énorme bien qu'encore naissante de la classe ouvrières a ébranlé le Québec dans les luttes ouvrières féroces des dernières années. Le mouvement syndical s'est développé rapidement, gagnant à ses rangs de larges couches nouvelles (professeurs, employés du secteur public, cols blancs, etc.) et révélant sa force potentielle (bien que seulement partiellement) dans de larges luttes militantes parmi lesquelles même l'occupation armée d'une usine l'année passée. Cependant, le leadership des organisations ouvrières n'a aucun concept d'utilisation de cette puissance comme un moyen d'organiser les masses pour la libération sociale et nationale du Québec. Sa perspective limitée de luttes purement réformistes au niveau syndical ont laissé le mouvement syndical sans protection contre des mesures anti-ouvrières de plus en plus vicieuses de la part des gouvernements provincial et fédéral. Lier les luttes ouvrières aux aspirations des Québécois à la libération nationale et les lier efficacement aux luttes d'autres couches sociales - étudiants, cultivateurs, il ne l'a pas fait du tout.



La preuve la plus claire de sa faillite est l'absence d'un parti organisé qui exprime et mette en avant les intérêts politiques de la classe ouvrière dans la lutte pour le pouvoir avec les partis bourgeois et petits-bourgeois. L'absence d'un parti ouvrier laisse le mouvement ouvrier sans possibilité de choix dans la course au pouvoir et empêche que les revendications de classe, indépendantes des travailleurs puissent se généraliser à un niveau politique dans la lutte pour le pouvoir. Il est absolument essentiel que l'on donne à la lutte ouvrière une forme politique organisée indépendante – un parti ouvrier.

À la suite de la seconde guerre mondiale et jusqu'à aujourd'hui on a vu apparaître l'organisation de masse des travailleurs québécois et des revendications toujours montantes de salaires et de conditions de travail meilleures, les revendications prennent inévitablement un caractère national à cause de la double oppression des ouvriers québécois en tant qu'ouvriers et en tant que québécois. Un secteur de la bourgeoisie nationale a tenté de satisfaire ce mécontentement montant des masses par la restructuration de l'économie québécoise, en tentant d'aplanir les disparités nationales dans le contexte de l'avance technologique du néo-capitalisme. Puisque la source du retard économique du Québec était son statut semi-colonial, cette tentative fut stérile.

La montée des revendications des travailleurs québécois venait directement en conflit avec le statut semi-colonial du Québec. Ce que la bourgeoisie québécoise désirait, c'était un peu plus du profit, et un peu plus de souplesse pour manoeuvrer la classe ouvrière, mais cela n'était pas possible.

Ceci fut exprimé concrètement dans leur tentative de réformer le système d'éducation par la création des CEGEPs, et la déconfessionnalisation proposée par le rapport Parent, mais ils furent incapables de venir efficacement à bout de ces réformes parce que le caractère d'extraction et contorsion de l'économie québécoise sur lequel ils n'avaient aucun contrôle, ne pouvait soutenir le système d'éducation sophistiqué qu'ils proposaient.

On vit au Québec l'expansion de dispositions pour l'éducation supérieure mais sous une forme dénaturée. Avec l'établissement des CEGEPs, le nombre de ceux qui fréquentaient les institutions d'enseignement supérieur atteignait 1% de la population. Il y a 10 ans, il y avait 3,600 étudiants à l'Université de Montréal, en 1968, il y en avait 18,600. Plus de 50% des étudiants venaient de familles ouvrières. À l'Université de Montréal 36% des étudiants venaient de familles ouvrières et dans la faculté de science, le chiffre s'élève à 54% et en polytechnique à 67%.

La perspective d'avenir pour ces étudiants est très mince, ceci largement dû à l'oppression nationale. L'éducation pour les francophones est inférieure. La taxation pour les écoles est basée sur la religion. Ceci veut dire que les écoles Protestantes à majorité anglophone s'appuient sur les taxes des anglophones plus riches, alors que les écoles catholiques à majorité francophone s'appuient sur les taxes des Canadiens français appauvris. Il n'y a qu'à comparer l'opulence de Dawson Collège, CEGEP anglais, avec l'inadaptation d'un CEGEP français moyen.

Cela s'applique aussi aux universités. McGill a reçu d'énormes appuis financiers du gouvernement



du Québec, en plus de la masse des subsides fournis par les compagnies. A Montréal l'année dernière, il y avait 21,000 étudiants anglophones à l'université et 18,000 francophones. Avant les années '60, il y avait peu de recherche scientifique au Québec et cette recherche se fait maintenant principalement en anglais. Les professionnels doivent généralement s'intégrer au milieu anglais pour avoir un bon emploi. Pour les français, la Québec est un enclave dénaturée à bas salaires hors de laquelle il n'y a aucune marge de manoeuvre pour ceux qui ne veulent pas abandonner leurs droits nationaux (même ceux parmi les Canadiens-français qui travaillent en anglais, les chiffres le prouvent, ne vont pas loin). L'oppression nationale frappe les jeunes Canadiens-français quand ils cherchent un emploi, par les conditions de travail et le taux élevé de chômage. Ils doivent souvent parler anglais au travail. L'aspect où s'exprime le plus clairement l'oppression culturelle est celui de la langue, c'est pourquoi la lutte pour l'unilinguisme français prend un caractère révolutionnaire.

Le bilinguisme veut dire pour les Québécois, nécessité de parler et de travailler en anglais, particulièrement dans l'industrie et le commerce. Il sert de courroie de transmission de l'anglicisation et de couverture libérale pour l'oppression nationale. Il n'y a qu'une zone partiellement bilingue au Canada et c'est le Québec. Quand il y a un choix entre l'anglais et le français et quand les affaires fonctionnent en anglais, la tendance est claire. On estime que d'ici 15 ans, Montréal sera une ville à majorité anglophone. La lutte pour l'unilinguisme est le front de lutte pour la survivance de la nation québécoise. Un système scolaire unilingue est un moyen de barrer la route à l'assimilation. La bourgeoisie québécoise a montré sa claire soumission à l'impérialisme en s'opposant à cette revendication.

La radicalisation internationale a eu un important impact sur la jeunesse québécoise. Le Vietnam a servi de facteur de radicalisation important bien qu'il n'ait pas abouti aux mêmes mobilisations de masse et a une même conscience internationaliste pour les raisons exprimées dans le document anti-guerre. Il y a eu quelques grandes manifestations comme la mobilisation de quelques milliers de jeunes Québécois à travers le Québec par l'UGEQ en novembre 1967 mais pas avec la même fréquence qu'au Canada-anglais. La France a eu aussi un grand impact comme on l'a vu dans l'occupation des CEGEPs, en octobre et dans la plupart des tendances militantes exprimées par l'UGEQ avant octobre.

### **La Jeunesse canadienne-anglaise.**

La jeunesse Canadienne-anglaise et la jeunesse immigrante font partie de minorités ethniques à l'intérieur de la nation canadienne-française. Beaucoup de ces jeunes se sentent menacés par la lutte nationale, en particulier l'unilinguisme. En réalité leurs intérêts sont liés à la lutte libératrice de la classe ouvrière canadienne-française. Ils n'ont aucun intérêt dans l'oppression du Québec par le capital anglo-canadien et américain. La révolution socialiste future qui résoudra la question nationale au Québec libérera la jeunesse canadienne-anglaise et immigrante de son oppression par le capitalisme.

Cette oppression est souvent renforcée par les divisions créées entre travailleurs francophones, immigrants et anglophones. Il faut gagner l'appui de la jeunesse des minorités ethniques à l'autodétermination dans une perspective plus lointaine et leur appui à l'unilinguisme dans l'immédiat.

### **La Jeunesse féminine**

La jeunesse féminine commence à entrer en grand nombre dans la lutte bien que peu soient encore impliquées. Les jeunes femmes subissent une triple oppression en tant que femmes, en tant que québécoises, en tant que travailleurs et en tant que jeunes. La discrimination contre les femmes est encore plus criante au Québec qu'au Canada-anglais. Les lois, la famille et l'Eglise ont conspiré pour reléguer la femme à un rôle social inférieur et à constituer de grandes barrières sur le chemin de la libération de la femme. C'est important que dans le développement de la radicalisation les jeunes femmes commencent à s'organiser pour leur libération. Le mouvement au Québec se trouve devant une tâche indispensable - l'implication active des femmes à tous les niveaux, particulièrement au leadership de notre mouvement.

## **Les problèmes-clés de la radicalisation de la jeunesse**

Les problèmes-clés sont ceux de la direction et de l'organisation. D'un côté il y a une radicalisation très répandue et de l'autre côté, il n'y a presque pas de direction et aucune forme d'organisation de masse, depuis la mort de l'UGEQ.

La crise de direction était clairement posée l'an passé par la formidable occupation spontanée des CEGEPs et des développements subséquents. Les occupations spontanées causées par la réalisation soudaine de la banqueroute du système scolaire, si elles avaient pu être maintenues auraient pu gagner des victoires partielles et auraient pu se défendre avec une direction correcte comprenant la nécessité de lutter pour des demandes transitoires formulées de façon défensive et appelant pour un appui de masse de la population. Ceci la direction de l'UGEQ était totalement incapable de l'offrir. Avant octobre, ils se caractérisaient par un radicalisme verbal, et mode bureaucratique d'opérer. Ils n'avaient aucun lien avec la masse et aucune conception de comment la diriger. Défiés par les événements, ils ont battu en retraite dans une inactivité totale et un spontanéisme abject pour justifier leur refus affreux de direction. Suivant leur spontanéisme à sa logique extrême, ils ont abdiqué, en donnant la direction, et l'UGEQ est mort. Au congrès tenu en mai, il n'y avait aucune tendance capable ou prête à donner une direction à l'UGEQ, y compris nous-mêmes. Avec le démembrement de l'UGEQ, nous n'avons pas senti que nous voulions en prendre la responsabilité, ni que nous étions en position de la sauver.

La chute de l'UGEQ était un résultat de sa direction et de sa conception de programme et non pas due au surpassement du besoin de larges formations étudiantes défensives particulièrement au point fort de la lutte. Le besoin pour une coordination des luttes et d'une direction étudiantes existe et augmente, qu'elle soit autour de demandes étudiantes spécifiques ou autour de la question nationale et autres larges questions sociales. Une telle coordination réapparaîtra sans doute sous une forme quelconque dans le processus de la lutte.

Le Mouvement Syndical Politique est une organisation étudiante très hétérogène regroupant plusieurs militants parmi les plus actifs, à travers des cellules dans leurs écoles individuelles ou à travers comités d'action plus larges sur les campus. Il provient de la dissolution de l'UGEQ et se pose lui-même comme la direction des luttes étudiantes. Le MSP est dépourvu d'idéologie définie, bien que le FLP soit une des tendances dirigeantes dans le groupe.

Jusqu'à maintenant nous n'avons eu aucune expérience réelle avec le MSP à l'exception de notre

récente exclusion de son congrès de fondation. Une chose est claire, à moins que le MSP adopte une perspective de masse et des revendications transitoires sur les questions affrontées par les étudiants québécois, il ne sera pas capable de trouver des solutions aux questions de direction, d'organisation et de programme pour le mouvement étudiant. Nous travaillerons avec et au sein du MSP, ou il sera possible, reconnaissant qu'il s'y trouve plusieurs bons éléments, et qu'il est très fluide dans son développement.

Il n'existe actuellement aucune organisation étudiante de masse ni aucune direction ayant une hégémonie sur le mouvement étudiant. Les militants sont dispersés. Il y a plus de tendances que jamais auparavant, mais moins de direction unifiée. Il existe une base radicale étudiante de masse, mais jusqu'à date seul le mouvement pour l'unilinguisme a été capable de la mobiliser.

Le seul mouvement qui a été capable de surmonter le fossé entre la radicalisation de la masse et le manque de direction, a été le mouvement unilinguiste. Bien qu'il ne soit pas hautement organisé et qu'il manque de structures, il a été capable de faire descendre des milliers de personnes dans la rue. Les raisons de son succès ont été le pouvoir et l'attrait de la question de l'unilinguisme, le maintien de ce mouvement en tant que mouvement à but unique et son accent sur la mobilisation de masse. Un aspect clé de son effet sur le mouvement, c'est qu'il a empêché l'étemisation de la démoralisation qui a suivi Octobre, et il a démontré la façon de mener le mouvement de l'avant en dépit du fait que cela ne remplace nullement le besoin pour une direction étudiante, socialiste consciente.

### **Nos tâches et perspectives**

La situation au Québec procure des opportunités uniques pour notre mouvement. D'une part la question nationale a amené une couche beaucoup plus large de jeunesse radicalisée qu'au Canada anglais et d'autre part, il y a une crise de direction. Les autres tendances de gauche sont généralement plus faibles au Québec. Seul notre mouvement a su traverser l'épreuve, et continuer à augmenter ses effectifs et à approfondir ses racines dans le milieu canadien français.

Les tâches-clés qui se présentent devant nous sont, le rassemblement des cadres essentiels et leur entraînement au programme et la perspective trotskyste dans la LJS/LSO et l'intervention dans la lutte vivante pour prendre la direction du mouvement étudiant. La clé de notre capacité de le faire est notre programme de transition. Notre programme s'adresse aux besoins particuliers des étudiants et des jeunes ouvriers tout en les menant à l'affrontement avec l'Etat bourgeois. Notre programme est compréhensible et est posé défensivement de façon à gagner l'appui de la masse des étudiants et des ouvriers. Souvent, ceci exige des demandes posées défensivement, c'est-à-dire, des demandes qui contre carrent pas les droits démocratiques bourgeois, mais qui se basent sur ces concepts de façon à mobiliser la masse contre l'Etat bourgeois. En même temps, notre programme pose des revendications que la bourgeoisie est incapable de satisfaire ce qui éduque la jeunesse dans la perspective socialiste et ce qui fait avancer le mouvement dans la lutte pour le pouvoir. Voici quelques unes des revendications d'un programme de transition pour le mouvement étudiant québécois:

- Pour l'enseignement de l'histoire réelle de la lutte nationale du Canada français.
- Pour un système scolaire laïc, gratuit, unilingue, contrôlé par l'Etat, et financé par la taxation imposée aux riches et aux corporations géantes.
- L'expansion de l'université et de toutes les autres facilités scolaires, les deux en grandeur et en qualité de façon à satisfaire les besoins des étudiants québécois.

- Pour le français comme langue d'industrie, de commerce, d'éducation et au niveau gouvernemental.
- Pour un salaire étudiant
- Pour un contrôle des écoles par les étudiants et les enseignants.
- Positions assurées pour tous les gradués dans leur champ d'étude, positions assurées pour toute la jeunesse pour un standard de vie décent. Policiers hors des campus, hors des écoles
- Fin à l'oppression sexuelle, sociale, économique et légale de la femme. Pour le choix par les étudiants des manuels scolaires et de matériels adéquats de textes en français.

La LJS est efficacement intervenue avec son programme dans le mouvement d'occupation des CEGEPs et était la seule force à tenter de donner une direction à la lutte. Grâce à cette intervention la LJS s'est attirée pour la première fois des forces significatives Canadiennes-françaises. Nous sommes également intervenus d'une façon dynamique dans le mouvement pour l'unilinguisme aidant à lui garder son caractère à but unique, et de masse. A ce point, la LJS est la seule tendance de gauche au Québec à mener une lutte quelconque autour de la question de libération des femmes.

La tâche globale de la LJS est de gagner la jeunesse à la perspective socialiste de la question nationale sous sa direction. La LJS met de l'avant la perspective d'une direction révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière dans la lutte nationale, en termes de tâches immédiates - principalement la création d'un parti politique de la classe ouvrière. En mettant de l'avant cette orientation nous donnons la perspective d'une ouverture de l'impasse dans laquelle se trouvent les mouvements ouvrier, nationaliste, étudiant et la base de la lutte contre les tendances petite-bourgeoise de droite et de gauche.

C'est le devoir élémentaire de la LJS d'éduquer la jeunesse dans un esprit d'internationalisme révolutionnaire, ceci en deux sens, le premier en termes de l'importance stratégique de l'unité la plus complète possible avec les forces révolutionnaires du Canada-anglais, et le second en termes de la révolution mondiale. L'internationalisme révolutionnaire signifie par-dessus tout, à ce moment, la défense de la révolution vietnamienne.

La LJS doit intervenir catégoriquement dans la lutte pour les droits nationaux au jour le jour, et en particulier dans la lutte pour l'unilinguisme français au Québec, sur le plan le plus large, et plus spécifiquement où que cette question a des effets sur la jeunesse étudiante. Nous tentons d'assurer que ce mouvement demeure à but unique évite les pièges de l'électorisme, en restant un mouvement de masse militant. Nous devons tous adhérer au LJS (*Ligue d'Integration Scolaire – unilinguiste – ed.*) et, où c'est faisable, prendre l'initiative, en étendant le mouvement pour l'unilinguisme.

Le problème auquel fait face la LJS à ce moment est celui de savoir quelle est la meilleure façon de se hisser à la prise de la direction du mouvement étudiant. Tout d'abord, ceci nécessite la construction de la LJS, spécifiquement l'établissement des clubs LJS sur les campus, les écoles secondaires, dans les CEGEPs et l'embryon du parti d'avant-garde, la LSO.

Nous ne pouvons diriger à moins que nous recrutions et développons les cadres capables d'appliquer le programme de transition au mouvement étudiant et de mener les luttes de masse. Notre première priorité est le développement de tels cadres, raison de notre existence. Ceci demande un plan stratégique d'intervention active dans les luttes d'aujourd'hui. Il n'y a naturellement aucune dichotomie entre la construction des cadres, et la lutte pour la direction du mouvement étudiant, en fait les deux vont de paire.

Il faut que nous nous plongeons dans les luttes actuelles. Pour diriger, nous devons trouver le pont entre la base

massive de militants et la direction révolutionnaire. Ce pont se réalise dans l'application concrète du programme de transition. Nous intervenons dans le mouvement au niveau de l'action, en organisant où il est possible des mobilisations de masse autour de revendications transitoires, en lançant un défi aux autres tendances de se joindre à la direction de telles mobilisations. Sur le plan propagandiste nous éduquons la jeunesse qui se radicalise sur le besoin d'un parti révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière, et de la lutte pour le socialisme. Notre ascendance à la direction viendra à travers le développement et l'expansion de nos propres cadres et à travers la démonstration dans la lutte de la justesse de notre direction et de notre programme aux yeux de la masse.

### **Les tâches au Canada-anglais et pour la LJS**

La lutte nationale au Québec n'a pas encore reçu une réponse significative de la part des étudiants du Canada-anglais. Il y a un grand intérêt mais une mince solidarité et une mince compréhension. Ceci ne veut pas dire que la lutte nationale au Québec ne deviendra pas le facteur-clé de radicalisation, tout comme la lutte noire l'a été aux États-Unis, cela le deviendra en fait.

Nous devons nous consacrer à un appui plus actif pour la lutte nationale à travers la propagande et par des actions spécifiques de solidarité où c'est possible, gagnant ainsi les Canadiens-anglais et la jeunesse immigrante à appuyer l'auto-détermination et l'unilinguisme français. Nous sommes les seuls capables de fournir l'analyse et le programme socialiste révolutionnaire sur cette question.

### **Les autres tendances**

**Le Parti Québécois:** Le PQ est un parti petit-bourgeois à la fois par sa base sociale et par son programme. En même temps, cependant, c'est le principal parti politique qui se proclame nationaliste. Mais son nationalisme ne va que jusqu'à un programme d'indépendance constitutionnelle et par conséquent, d'interdépendance économique à l'intérieur du marché capitaliste canadien-anglais, faisant pour cela quelques réformes dans la structure de l'État canadien actuel. Cela montre la banqueroute de la petite-bourgeoisie quand elle traite la question nationale. C'est un parti qui tente de réunir tous les secteurs, toutes les classes de la société québécoise, et de cette façon, obscurcit la nature de classe réelle de la question nationale. Mais étant le parti politique nationaliste majeur, le PQ a gagné l'appui, au moins l'appui critique, de la vaste majorité des jeunes militants qui voient le PQ comme un pas en avant pour le mouvement indépendantiste. Le PQ masque le besoin d'une réelle alternative ouvrière. C'est un obstacle sur la voie que doit prendre nécessairement la lutte nationale, c-à-d la voie socialiste.

**Le Front de Libération Populaire:** Le FLP est une tendance qui a été capable récemment de faire quelques mobilisations. Ils considèrent socialistes et indépendantistes; ils considèrent qu'ils sont le parti révolutionnaire. Ils ont beaucoup des caractéristiques d'une tendance révolutionnaire petite-bourgeoise. Ils opposent une théorie de l'étincelle des mobilisations à la construction d'un mouvement de masse à travers un programme de transition. Ils pensent que la révolution se fera en faisant descendre les gens dans la rue et non en développant un parti d'avant-garde prolétaire qui aura ses racines dans le mouvement de masse et au moment crucial conduira le prolétariat au pouvoir. Ils n'ont aucune stratégie de travail pour gagner la classe ouvriers au socialisme. Ils tentent à s'opposer aux syndicats et à parler aux ouvriers de l'extérieur. Le FLP est l'expression organisée du spontanéisme et notre principale opposition organisée dans le mouvement étudiant à ce moment.

**Le Terroriste:** La tendance terroriste qui se considère révolutionnaire voit son rôle comme l'agitation et



le réveil de la masse par les bombes. Ses cibles durant la dernière période ont été des compagnies impliquées dans des luttes syndicales et nationales. Les mêmes critiques s'appliquent aux terroristes et la théorie de l'étincelle du FLQ. Les bombes terroristes livrent tout le mouvement radical aux attaques du régime parce qu'elles créent une atmosphère dans laquelle la bourgeoisie peut tenter d'isoler et de réprimer les radicaux. Le terrorisme est la pire expression de l'impatience de la jeune gauche québécoise et doit être combattue avec force.

Les autres groupes: Les Staliniens (pro-Moscou) et les Sociaux Démocrates n'ont intellectuellement à ce moment aucune influence parmi les étudiants québécois. L'opposition, bien que couverte, de ces deux tendances politiques à la lutte nationale au Québec limite immédiatement leur rappel.

Les Maoïstes sont représentés par les Internationalistes et le Parti Canadien du Travail. Leurs bases sont d'abord sur les campus canadiens anglais. Le Parti du Travail considère la lutte nationale comme réactionnaire alors que les Internationalistes lui donnent une aide verbale tout en dénonçant l'unilinguisme français comme «raciste.»

### **Caractérisation de la radicalisation de la jeunesse.**

L'impact continu et croissant de la question nationale combinée avec l'effet réveil de la "Révolution Tranquille" a développé une génération de jeunes, à la fois conscients de l'oppression nationale et préparés à la combattre. Au Québec nous trouvons une large couche de jeunes radicalisés parmi les étudiants et les travailleurs. La couche de jeunesse radicalisée est plus large qu'au Canada-anglais parce que l'oppression est directe et évidente. En même temps, parce que la question nationale peut être résolue seulement à travers une révolution de la classe ouvrière, il y a un grand potentiel pour la conscience de classe à se développer rapidement. Il y a une grande réceptivité au socialisme.

La situation actuelle est que les larges couches de jeunesse radicalisée manquent de traditions politiques réellement ouvrières. Il n'y a pas et aurait jamais eu, aucun parti politique de la classe ouvrière d'aucune importance. La direction politique du Québec a toujours été divisée entre la bourgeoisie et la petite-bourgeoisie. Dans le passé la petite-bourgeoisie a toujours été le leadership autour de la question nationale, bien qu'il devienne de plus en plus clair à de larges couches que la petite-bourgeoisie est incapable de mener la lutte nationale vers la direction qu'elle doit prendre, et faute d'une profonde compréhension politique des couches radicalisées et faute d'un parti ouvrier, la jeunesse donne un large appui au Parti Québécois, électoraliste et petit-bourgeois.

Le mouvement étudiant doit se développer vers une union de ses forces avec la classe ouvrière, s'il veut jouer un rôle positif dans le processus de la révolution. En générale, les étudiants radicalisés reconnaissent la classe ouvrière comme une force progressive et au Québec on a vu une plus grande solidarité de la part des étudiants dans les luttes ouvrières, mais ceci sans une compréhension claire de leur part, du rôle ou du potentiel de la classe ouvrière. Le lien avec la classe est extrêmement difficile en l'absence d'un parti ouvrier de masse. Cette absence rend difficile pour la jeunesse radicalisée la perspective de la lutte ouvrière. Ceci est la base objective pour des tentatives à trouver des raccourcis dans la lutte contre le capitalisme. Cette construction d'un parti ouvrier de

masse est la clé, non seulement pour le développement de la classe ouvrière, mais faciliterait également et d'une façon qualitative le rapprochement du mouvement étudiant à la classe ouvrière.

Les caractéristiques dominantes de la jeunesse radicalisée sont le militantisme, l'impatience et la recherche de solutions révolutionnaires. Étant donné la crise politique de la classe ouvrière, cette situation provoque une forte tendance à l'ultra-gauchisme, au spontanéisme, tout comme au réformisme petit-bourgeois. L'ultra-gauchisme et le spontanéisme ne sont pas dominants dans le mouvement étudiant mais composent nos concurrents majeurs parmi les autres tendances politiques de gauche, en particulier le F.L.P., un courant ultra-gauchiste et spontanéiste. La jeunesse radicalisée se caractérise par son explosivité et sa grande instabilité. Il y a une grande recherche à des solutions pour des façons d'en sortir, une épreuve rapide d'organisations et de programmes.

*(fin)*



young  
socialists  
ligue des  
jeunes  
socialistes

1969  
Discussion  
Bulletin

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*Chie.*

*(Sept. 1969)*

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(1)

CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS/LIGUE DES JEUNES SOCIALISTES

(as adopted at the founding convention of the Young Socialists, July 17, 1965, and amended at the conventions of the YS/LJS of July 1967 and July 1968)

Article 1      Name:      The name of this organization shall be Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS).

Article 2      Purpose:      The YS/LJS is a revolutionary socialist youth movement functioning in both the French and English nations of Canada. Its purpose is to educate youth to the program of revolutionary Marxism and enlist the youth of our society in the struggle to build a vanguard party capable of leading to the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of the basis for socialism - a workers' state.

Article 3      Relationship to LSA-LSO:      The League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the YS/LJS are autonomous parts of a common movement. The YS/LJS declares its adherence to the objectives and program of the LSA-LSO, but within that framework is completely autonomous as an organization. The YS/LJS adheres to the statement of relationship between the youth and the League adopted by the 1963 LSA convention.

Article 4      Membership:      (a) Membership shall be open to anyone 27 years of age or under who agrees to abide by the program and discipline of the YS/LJS, and who shall contribute loyal and active participation in the movement to the best of his ability.  
(b) Application for membership shall be decided by the local in the applicant's area. In the event that no local exists in the area, the applicant shall apply to the Central Executive Council and may be admitted as a member-at-large.  
(c) Each member shall pay a sum to be determined by the EC as monthly dues. Locals are responsible for collecting these dues and forwarding them to the Central Office. Members-at-large shall forward their own dues.  
(d) Any member more than three months in arrears in dues ceases to be a member in good standing. Only members in good standing may vote or hold office in the YS/LJS. Members not in good standing may be dropped after notification.  
(e) In all political activities, YS/LJS members operate as a disciplined body and are bound by the decisions of the governing bodies.

Article 5      Bi-national Conventions:      (a) The bi-national convention is the highest body of the YS/LJS and shall meet at least once every two years.  
(b) Emergency conventions may be called by the Executive Council or by demand of locals representing at least one-third of the membership. Normally 90 days' notice will be given.  
(c) The CEC shall regulate the pre-convention discussion. All members and bodies have the right to submit documents for internal circulation and discussion.

(over)



- Article 5 (cont'd.)
- (d) The election of delegates and alternates to conventions shall be conducted in local units. A member must be in good standing at the time of the convention call to be eligible for election.
  - (e) The ratio of delegates to membership at conventions shall be determined by the Executive Council, as shall be the basis for representation of minorities.
  - (f) In cases where a significant political division exists the election of delegates shall be proportional. A political division exists only when a written document is presented and voted upon.
  - (g) EC members (or alternates) who are not elected as convention delegates shall have voice but no vote.
- Article 6 Executive Council:
- (a) The EC shall be the highest authority between conventions. It shall have jurisdiction over all YS/LJS bodies and publications.
  - (b) The size and ratio of the EC shall be decided by the convention. In the election of the EC all significant minorities generally shall have representation.
  - (c) The EC shall have the authority to co-opt. It shall also have the authority to co-opt onto the CEC. In the case of such co-option, it shall be of such a character as not to alter the existing political balance of the EC and CEC.
  - (d) The EC shall meet before and after conventions and at least once in years in which there is no convention, or at the demand of one half of the EC members.
- Article 7 Central Executive Council:
- (a) The Central Executive Council shall consist of EC members resident in the centre and shall act on behalf of the EC between EC meetings. It shall be accorded full authority of the EC except that all its decisions shall be subject to review by the EC as a whole. On demand of not less than one-third of the EC members, any CEC decision shall be subject to a poll of the entire EC. The CEC shall be responsible for the supervision of the Central Office, its staff, all YS/LJS publications, and for the application of convention and EC decisions between conventions.
  - (b) In general, all significant minorities shall be represented on the CEC.
- Article 8 Central Officers
- (a) All central officers shall be responsible directly to the CEC and shall be elected from and by the EC. The EC shall elect an Executive Secretary and any other central officers it deems necessary.
  - (b) The Executive Secretary shall be responsible for the administration of the Central Office.



## Article 9 Organization:

- (a) Upon application to the CEC, three members in an area may be granted the status of a local.
- (b) A local shall function in a regular manner. It shall elect officers and working committees to carry out the responsibilities of the movement.
- (c) All decisions of the YS/LJS shall be made by majority vote.
- (d) Robert's Rules of Order shall govern procedure except where it conflicts with this constitution.
- (e) Local by-laws shall not conflict with this constitution.
- (f) In all matters, the principles of democratic centralism shall rule.

## Article 10 Discipline:

- (a) Any member or body of the YS/LJS may bring charges against any member for violation of the constitution or discipline of the YS/LJS.
- (b) The accused shall normally be tried by the highest body of which he is a member, although that body may elect to refer the question to a lower body.
- (c) A member may be disciplined by censure, internal or public, suspension, or expulsion.
- (d) Every member has the right to appeal disciplinary action to higher bodies, including the convention. The accused shall have 30 days to announce intent of appeal of the decision.
- (e) Pending the outcome of any appeal, disciplinary action shall remain in full force and effect.

## Article 11 Amendments:

- (a) This constitution can be amended only by a convention.



PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS  
SUBMITTED BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE  
COUNCIL

1. That Article 3 be changed as follows;  
In sentence 1, replace "autonomous" with "organizationally independent".  
In sentence 2, replace "autonomous" with "independent"

MOTIVATION: The Executive Council feels that the word autonomous used to describe the relationship of the YS/LJS to the LSA/LSO is not accurate, and subject to misinterpretation. The YS/LJS, for example, is committed to the program of the LSA/LSO. The Executive Council also felt that the statement of League-Youth relations adopted by the YS/LJS at its founding convention should be altered accordingly, and the League has agreed to do the same at its convention.

2. That Article 6, (b) section, be changed to add the following words to the end of the first sentence: "which shall elect the EC."

MOTIVATION: Clarification.

3. That article 6, section (c) be replaced with the following:  
"(c) Alternate members of the EC may be elected by, and only by, the convention. Alternates shall have voice and consultative vote at plenums of the EC, and shall have access to the minutes, of the CEC. The EC may co-opt members to itself from among the alternates. In the case of such co-option, it shall be of such character as not to alter the existing political balance of the EC."

MOTIVATION: The Executive Council feels that the present provisions for co-option to EC membership are undesirable, since they tend to undercut the authority of the convention to elect the movement's leadership. It feels that a system of alternates, such as that in the LSA/LSO or the SWP, would be a better method of handling co-options and co-option from the membership at large.

4. That Article 7, section (a), first sentence, be changed to read as follows:

"(a) The Central Executive Council shall be elected by and from the Executive Council, and shall act on behalf of the EC between plenary meetings of the EC."

MOTIVATION: As the EC expands with the growth of the movement, it may not be desirable to have every EC member resident in the centre a member of the CEC. Similarly, it may not be desirable to have every member of the CEC resident in the centre. The amendment would allow the EC more flexibility in determining the character of the CEC.

5. That Article 7, section (b) be renumbered section (c), and that a new section (b) be added as follows:  
"(b) The CEC shall have the authority to co-opt EC members or alternates to CEC membership, provided that such co-option does not alter the existing political balance of the CEC."



Motivation: This amendment would recognize a practice that has been followed now for two years.

6. That Article 5, section (d) be re-written as follows: "(d) The election of delegates and alternates to conventions shall be conducted in local units. Delegates shall be elected in proportion to the local membership in good standing as of a certain date to be announced in the convention call. This date shall not be earlier than the date of the convention call, and not later than the publication of the first pre-convention discussion bulletin."

Motivation; The intention is to give the CEC some discretionary power to set the effective membership date, and allow members not in good standing to regain their status in time to participate in the convention. It is in keeping with the principle that the membership of the local should participate fully in pre-convention discussion period in order to participate in the convention.



The Vancouver local has come through a unique period in its history and in fact in the history of the movement for it is here that the factional struggle reached its climax and here that the SFU defence work initiated. This contribution by the very nature of the Vancouver experience will be chronological rather than topical because there has been no consistent experience in any area of work over the past year. We have instead three quite distinct periods of development and a fourth which we have just entered. The common thread running through the entire era in Vancouver's development is the rebuilding of the movement in Vancouver, through a consistent emphasis on education, recruitment, and finances.

The period of factional struggle lasted from the last convention till well into January. This period which saw the formal emergence of the faction also buried the local in a debt of over one thousand dollars. It was characterized in the local chiefly by a struggle over our position on SDU and our plea in the courts over the SFU occupation, fierce infighting in hours-long local meetings, entriem in SDU at SFU and a decline in serious educational work. One good aspect of this, in spite of a growing general ineffectiveness of the local, was a hardening of the cadres that remained after the split. The struggle was particularly demoralizing in the local because of the strength of the faction and the fact that they had not declared themselves in the local but only in the LSA where the main fight was being waged. This meant that the faction had a tremendously disruptive influence in the local without the benefit of a clearly defined battleground. Fortunately for the survival of the local, the battle culminated in January with the unprincipled stand of our former comrades in pleading guilty to the charges arising from the Simon Fraser occupation.

During this period however, no recruits had been made except for a few directly into the faction and the balance of our contacts had all been turned off by the antics of the faction.

The second period began with eight active comrades, a one thousand dollar debt, no contacts, and only one active comrade on each campus, one of which wasn't even in the local, and we had no high school comrades. At that time the local oriented itself to correcting these problems. We immediately threw ourselves into building the April 6 demonstration and recruited our first four new comrades from around the mobilization. We undertook an extensive program of Saturday night events to attract new people to the movement and build a large periphery. A steady consistent program of repaying debts was also embarked upon and a serious educational program was initiated to consolidate our new comrades and draw our new contacts closer. Then, in conjunction with the League, we undertook educational classes that proceeded every Monday night almost without exception for four months. This program was designed to educate and recruit new contacts, concentrating on many of the basics of Marxism. This stage in our development was actually laying the basis for our summer period.

So the third period of growth began, still with small forces. This period basically ran all summer, being chiefly characterized by the aforementioned educational program. In line with this, our open work continued, with our work in TACUS, the Action Committee



for Unemployed Students, YS speak-outs in the park where we reached as many as 20 new contacts at a time, and of course, our role in the August 8 demonstration in Vancouver. This period of education and open work brought us another 8 recruits, 6 of them from high schools and 1 from Nanaimo on the island. This period also saw the beginning of regional organizing for the local and the opening up of contacts in Victoria, Pt. Alberni and Nanaimo.

The effect of these two periods has been to build the local from 8 to 22 active members. By active, I mean comrades who regularly come to local meetings, sell YSF, attend most forums, participate in the local's activities and bring their friends to the same. In fact, the majority of these new recruits, through the extensive period of education have come into the local at a very active level and with a good understanding of the movement.

This period ended with the opening of school and the local conference on Sept. 13. At this time a brand new executive was elected that expresses the new youth, vitality and size of the local. Now we have entered a new period where the Vancouver YS will become the major youth force on the left in Vancouver as it is doing in so many other centers in Canada. As of the conference we have removed the entire debt of the local.

The new period has already erupted with the signing up of 13 people into the YS club at UBC. Although this year we still have only one comrade active on the campus, two people from UBC who attended the local conference applied to join the YS. The opening of school involved daily anti-war and YS tables and the distribution of a "Join the YS" leaflet brought three immediate responses in the mail besides the two who have already applied to join. The reorganization of the local also included for the first time in its history a working high school fraction. YSF work has also taken a qualitative step forward. The entire local has been geared to getting one new sub per month per comrade. Although our most successful recruiting has been through anti-war and open work, the local has reaimed its efforts towards the campus and high schools which has already begun paying dividends. Instead of relaxing on our educational work we have taken it also into a new stage. Small tutoring classes are being arranged for small groups of contacts and new comrades on the basics of Marxism, alongside of regular programs of classes. Also in the works of education is a series of classes on public speaking to give our comrades the confidence and ability to jump up anywhere, anytime, and make spontaneous, fiery, agitational speeches.

The other really big objective is the colonization of Vancouver Island this year, primarily Victoria. Monthly tours to the Island hope to establish a network of comrades and contacts in every city that has three people under the age of 27. In the past, this work has slipped under the pressure of an internal struggle and a rebuilding process. Now we are prepared to blast into these areas in a big way.

In conclusion then the last year in Vancouver has seen the culmination of the factional struggle and the rebuilding of the local with a high concentration of education, recruiting and gaining financial stability. The next one is one of dynamic involvements; involvement in campus struggles, in the Vietnam demonstrations, in the high schools and in every general aspect of the Vancouver community, with the perspective of becoming THE youth force on the left in British Columbia.



## MONTREAL ENGLISH FRACTION..... 3.

The English fraction was established when comrades who had difficulty with the French language became a small minority because of the rapid recruitment of French speaking comrades. This rapid recruitment made it no longer feasible to hold casually bilingual meetings or to alternate English and French internals in the meetings. It created an "English Problem" in the LJS because the English speaking comrades were no longer able to develop politically within the LJS because of language difficulties. The comrades who are not learning French rapidly are consistently blocked from participation in the day-to-day discussion because of a lack of comprehension or because their French isn't too comprehensible. Some comrades have said, speak English then. But in the LJS, where all our comrades are very conscious of the national question, it becomes a humiliation to speak English. Also, because comrades aren't sure of exactly what was said, they hesitate to speak up and participate in any language. In any case, we were faced with the possible stagnation of our English comrades at a time when it is crucial to develop skilled, highly political English-speaking revolutionaries. Our opponents say we don't need English revolutionaries in Quebec. But they are wrong. Strategically, we are faced with a critical question. If we cannot win over large sectors of the English-speaking working class - and they make-up 30% of the working class in Montreal - and of the English petit bourgeoisie, the Quebec revolution could end in a blood-bath. If we cannot organize them, the ruling class will organize them into a counter revolutionary force. That must be very clear to every one of us who were out on the march in St. Leonard, facing Italian workers across the barricades.

Although there were, or soon were, enough comrades to organize a separate, English local, the English comrades were unanimously opposed, despite all the personal difficulties involved

We knskst that English revolutionaries must integrate themselves politically into the Quebec struggle. That does not mean that we have to shed our origins as soon as possible and pretend we didn't come from Toronto or from the English en of Montreal. It means that our work is part of a centralized struggle. It is subordinated to an overall strategy for Quebec.

It is an important political lesson for the Quebec radicals that the English are not to be written off either here or in the rest of Canada.

We didn't want to stand in the way of any comrade who wanted to integrate personally into the French milieu. For instance, Levi did not stay long in the fraction; Brenda, Walter and Mike were never part of it, and we have pushed Vic to work in the MSP and Chômage campaign for the summer.

It was established as a joint fraction of the LSO and LJS because a number of LSO comrades were young enough to participate with the LJS comrades without difficulty and other, experienced comrades were willing to give a hand where the LJS executive was not able to give the English-speaking comrades enough attention. The LSO comrades were facing the same problem of stagnation too, of course.



It should be made clear that the final authority for all English youth work rests with the metropolitan assembly, to which all English youth comrades belong. For instance, if there were a dispute over youth work in the fraction, the party comrades would have to refrain from the discussion and would not have a vote. Any such dispute would be brought to the assembly for the decision. Another example: the fraction works out in detail its projects, but they have to be approved by the assembly before we go ahead with them.

Our problems here have been a) a tendency for the fraction to take things for granted; b) a lack of work to report to the other comrades over the summer; c) a lack of attention on the part of the executive. What we have accomplished in the last months: recruitment: 2 campus comrades since January and 7 others immediately. We have now 9 youth comrades in the fraction.

Sales: English fraction comrades have participated very actively in all the sales of La Lutte and Jeune Garde, but we are just starting to sell out our bundles of YSF. There has been considerable reluctance on the part of comrades to go push the paper, just as there has been for Jeune Garde, but there have been some real successes recently, such as at Sir George and the Chômage demonstration where we discovered that even if a demonstration is all French, you can still sell the English papers. And this has been very encouraging.

Sir George: The campaign against the Code of Student Behaviour is going much better than we thought possible. I'll leave the details; Two things should be noted: 1) it is bringing us a large number of direct contacts; 2) we now have a good chance of being able to win a referendum on the code with our own forces. That in itself tells us that we, of all the radicals at Sir George have taken the initiative. We should be able to keep it.

We are now in a position to start a night-school YS with at least 3 students. This is very important because it gives us contact with the large number of young workers who go to Sir George and who have been politically neglected or written off by the radicals.

McGill: We have been plagued with inadequate forces at McGill for at least 2 years. This year we will be starting with 1 comrade, but with much better chances.

Do we want a section? The English fraction had a preliminary campus discussion which took up this question. We felt that the English campus work would be better handled through the English fraction, as this would enable the Sir George and non-campus comrades to participate in other campuses. We propose therefore that we re-establish the YS clubs (organizations with significant decision-making ability which contacts would join) on the English campuses and coordinate the work through the fraction.

Prospects: The English fraction has now enough strength to launch an offensive on campuses other than Sir George: SGWU, McGill, Loyola, Dawson College. We have been offered 2 hours on Sir George television and they were overjoyed when we offered to get Lemieux. Women's liberation work has a good potential for us as for English Canada. We can coordinate on that very well with the French campuses. Vietnam being a point of radicalization for English Quebecers, we propose to use it as an issue on McGill campus. The most important work on all these campuses will be to build the LJS to sell our paper, to push our ideas. With 9 comrades able to spread out flexibly onto all these campuses, the English fraction has the best potential for dynamic work in the coming year.



WINNIPEG.....

Our local was just formed in August 1969 so our work has just begun. Our main area of work is the U. of Man. campus where all our comrades are registered. (It's the 4th or 5th largest university in Canada). We have had one YS meeting with Colleen Levis which attracted almost 50, two-third women. We are participating in the foundation of a Women's Liberation group. The next meeting should be a showing of the film "The Organizer".

The main area of work will be of course the Vietnam Committee on campus and we hope to spread Vietnam committees to other campuses in the area. We visit Brandon often and work together with some radicals there on tours, meetings etc. and hope to have some representation from Brandon coming to the convention.

The biggest coup we've pulled off is that we are bringing Tariq Ali to the U. of Man., U. of Winnipeg and the U. of Brandon. No comment is needed on the importance of that to the local here.



The Ottawa YS is now only half the size it was at the last convention. This however is largely the result of transfers out of the city: other than that, we have held our own.

Our recruitment has been entirely in two areas: from the campus YS club, and from independent activities, such as forums, classes, etc.

The Carleton YS club did not get moving as rapidly as it might have last year, thanks to our uncertainty about what to do with it. We tended at first to see it simply as a recruitment pool and to concentrate far too heavily on internal discussions and educationals. During second term, however, we moved out with the club much more, involving the members in literature tables, anti-war preparations and above all, in the Student Council election campaign. The campaign was certainly the most important action we carried on campus this year. We ran six candidates for 4 executive posts, and 2 for Science representatives, and drew between 8 and 20% of the vote, depending on the number of candidates running for the given office. One of our Science rep candidates who has since been recruited, was elected. This campaign firmly established the YS as the main spokesman for radical politics on campus, SDU has receded far into the background now.

Our sales have been inconsistent until recently. During last school year, we could normally sell \$5. to \$10. worth of literature in an hour at a lit. table. This summer our main sales were YSF sales on the street, and for the first time we have begun to sell out our bundle. On the first day of orientation this year, we sold 50 YSFs in about half an hour. We also sold twelve subs in the registration line.

Finances have been our biggest single problem. Our debt to the Central Office is phenomenal, although we are now in a position to start paying it off. As a result of this debt, we have had to give up our hall, and move into a small second floor office. The Revolutionary Calendar has been a successful money making venture. As well, we expect that our budget from Carl. Student Council will be larger than last year.

Our summer educational program was quite successful. Instead of the usual class format, we held them in comrades' apartments, with refreshments and had only a short presentation followed by about one and a half hours of discussion. Attendance varied between 10 and 15, but fell off badly in August, the month in which most people in Ottawa leave town. The format enabled new people to ask more questions than would normally be the case, and the discussions were usually very wide-ranging. Two lucky things helped us in publicizing our ideas and events. One was a weekly column in the Carleton which a comrade writes and which is one of the most widely-read features. The other is the apparent starvation for material on the local phone-in shows. On a number of occasions we have had out-of-town speakers on these shows, a women's liberation speaker, for example, got about five hours.

Wince there is no established group working on Women's Liberation, we are founding one and have received an excellent response from women contacts.

One thing we have done twice is setting up a table right in the registration line so that everyone has to go past it. This provided us with names and YS club members, made us the most visible radical group.

There are only two opponent tendencies that we have much contact with. SDU at Carl. almost folded for lack of activity last year and is now concentrating on classroom organizing. The Internationalists do not have anyone on campus. Nhe NDY is all but dead, what remains is a small paper membership and a leadership of fanatic Trotsky-baiters.

Ever onward to victory.



EXCERPTS FROM THE FINANCIAL REPORT TO THE SEPT.11 LOCAL CONFERENCE  
VANCOUVER.....

7.

March 1st, 1969, the Vancouver local of the YS began a reorganization of its finances. At that time the local was approximately one thousand dollars in debt. This figure is difficult to predict exactly because six months later bills still arrive due from expenses incurred prior to March.

At that time the Vancouver local had just come through a split and the remaining eight comrades realized the importance of finances and consciously set about to systematically remove this debt and build a sound financial base under the movement in Vancouver. During the six month period from March to August the local did in fact, pay off this entire debt. The local barely kept its head above water and in fact often fell into the red. Catastrophes at these times were averted by comrades paying pledges early and often raising them or giving extra. It took a real, conscious, almost spartan effort, but the local managed to pay off one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars every month.

However, I want to go into YS finances a little more deeply now in very general terms. A picture of our past financing, particularly in Vancouver is inspiring because it shows what we can do when necessary. However, the financing in the next period is going to be even more important and, in fact, crucial in the face of tremendous expansion of the YS. It is necessary for all comrades to be aware of the financing of the movement and the importance of it.

It is difficult to choose which of the expenses of any particular local is the most important and most crucial, but if I had to choose it would be our pledge to the central office. For comrades information, we pay a pledge of \$3.25 per comrade and dues of fifty cents for a total of \$3.75 per comrade every month. So we cannot afford paper memberships. Every person in our movement must be active in order to justify this expense. But what does this money go for in the center?

This money pays the salaries of our central staff to put out YSF and co-ordinate our activities across all of Canada. These funds made possible our intervention in Quebec and the student struggle there a year ago. It made possible the building of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes at a time when the Quebec student movement was without leadership and our forces were small with no financial base of their own. It finances tours tying in the various other struggles in Canada with our own and make our own interventions much more serious and meaningful. It finances posters, buttons and pamphlets which we then make some additional money off of while presenting the YS and its ideas to radical youth in a dynamic and interesting way. It pays for our regional organizing into new areas of Canada. For instance we are sending people into Winnipeg and opening a local there for the first time. With the opening of possibilities in other areas specially in the West and the Maritimes, this function of our pledge to the center will take on even more importance.

Tie all these things in together and it adds up to the maintenance and growth of the only truly revolutionary Canada-wide



bi-national youth movement. Only such a movement can have the perspective of building a revolutionary party. Without this, the YS would simply be another tiny, local radical group with no broad perspective. It is an absolute truth that the revolution will not be made in Vancouver alone.

These then are a sampling of the function of our finances. Now where does this money come from?

The backbone of our finances comes directly from the pockets of the comrades. This is a heavy burden but one which most comrades realize is necessary to build the movement. It is only due to the pledges of comrades that Vancouver removed its thousand dollar debt, most of which was owed to the center; and it is only this that will keep Vancouver or any other local from going into such a position again,

Out of a total six month income of almost two thousand dollars in Vancouver, 83% came directly from pledges. It is this 83% primarily, above and beyond any other source of income that keeps our movement functioning. This pledge is one tremendously necessary sign of the commitment, the total personal commitment of comrades to the movement.

We must of course, expand our program of fund raising. We must try to get money from outside of the movement. We must solicit monthly sustainers from contacts and friends of the movement. We must hold fund raising events such as banquets and dramatic presentations. However, many of these methods of fund raising only really come alive in a big way during a fund drive or some other big mobilization. But no mobilization and no hope of outside financing can even partly replace the personal commitment of our comrades expressed financially. Other sources of income are merely gravy on the real meat that we can count on, on a steady month by month basis.

What's expected of a comrade?

What's expected of a working comrade is 10% of his monthly wages. If you make 400 dollars a month, then the YS expects 40 dollars a month. Unemployed and student comrades should give the local \$3.25 a month, just exactly what we give the center. On top of this we also expect a steady unwavering 50 cents a month dues from every comrade, every month.

This of course is not a hard and fast formal rule. It should be expected that some comrades simply cannot meet even \$3.75 a month and this should be taken up with the treasurer of the local. In other cases, especially in the case of a couple where both are working, comrades can afford more and this too should be discussed with the local treasurer.

The single most important thing is for every comrade to independently and reasonably assess the maximum he can give on a regular basis and then to maintain it every single month without fail so that the local can have a realistic financial base upon which it can depend month in and month out.

Michael Jones  
September 11, 1969



Waterloo-Guelph

In terms of success and drawbacks, a feature to be considered for this local as for many others is its age. Not until after Christmas '68 did we consider ourselves a local as such and not until May 17/69 at our spring conference, did we formally found the local.

Waterloo-Guelph covers three universities - University of Waterloo, Waterloo Lutheran University and the University of Guelph. This was our main area of activity. In terms of successes, it has varied in terms of the make-up of the different campuses. First, we carried an election campaign at U. of G. for Union Council. Betty-Jane S. and Jim O. ran. For the first time students at the U. of G. had to make a political decision. The socialist candidates were able to get 4% and 6% of the vote respectively. As the Sept. term opened our comrades were recognized from the election campaign, and so this has laid the groundwork for establishing the YS as a strong political force.

At the U. of W. the comrades operated mainly in terms of intervening in the New Left grouping, the Radical Student Movement, and presenting educationals. Because we presented consistent positions and held regular literature tables we were able to do successful recruiting. This year, the activity on U. of W. campus will remain at much the same level.

The third campus, Waterloo Lutheran, is in a very unique position.. By laying the groundwork through speakers, literature tables and the day-to-day routine of talking to people, the Y.S. is an established force. Further as of Sept. '69 it is the only organized radical grouping now at Lutheran. A significant action that was carried by the Lutheran students with the YS in the leadership, was a campaign for student parity on the administration bodies, on hiring and firing and promotion and tenure. A number of students had become frustrated in relation to the virtually unexplained releasing of three popular and to a degree "unorthodox" professors in the past two years. Realizing this, a petition campaign was initiated demanding student and faculty parity representation on ultimate bodies concerning this policy. This was taken to the Students Council who accepted the task of presenting the demands to the Administration who in turn doled it out to the Faculty Council. The issue was put on ice during the summer by the school, but it will be a key point in the campaign of two students running in the student Council by-elections in early October.

During the summer, the comrades of this area carried the YS through an Ontario-wide Student Radical Conference held on Aug. 1 at U. of W. campus. It was a C.P.L. initiated event. Out of it, one could see the New Left Caucus emerging as a separate entity and further, defining itself in reaction to C.P.L. However it became evident during the weekend that working with such a group would be valuable as there were still a fair number open to our ideas. We could form united front actions in terms of "provocative, anti-authoritarian" issues.

Two other areas of activity that have proved highly successful are anti-war and high schools. The main approach in anti-war work has been to mobilize university students to participate in a small march in the area and then take them to the main demonstration in Toronto. However, this year, a new approach is being taken. First, we will be centering the activity right here in the area for the day. Secondly we will be getting more community support. A branch of the LSA was founded here during the summer, and most of the community anti-war work will be carried by the branch, with YS comrades concentrating on building student actions.

The student support for our on campus activities has been good and has proved to be one of our most successful recruiting areas. But, as we approach Nov. 15 we



realize that our building action must be more provocative.  
begun

We have just recently/activity in high schools. During the summer a building week was held for highschoolers of an educational character. Also in mobilizing interested high schoolers, the high school comrades are putting out an area paper. Recent high school distributions of YSF have proved successful and indicate a lot of potential for a broad and militant high school grouping.

At our fall conference it was noted that now the YS has established itself in the Waterloo-Guelph area as a force and a movement to come to. We are now looking ahead to an exciting and fruitful future.

### Montreal

At the beginning of June a series of eight classes on the history of the Fourth International was begun. We used the work of Pierre Frank (The Fourth International) as a basis for study, that is, each section of the book served as a basis for a class. Besides the work of Pierre Frank the comrades were able to refer to a list of works which complement Frank's book. All the comrades had read Frank so they could participate in the discussion. The more experienced comrades intervened at times to emphasize the importance of an idea, to explain or place in its historic context an idea or an action. The main weakness of the classes was that they extended over too long a period, 8 weeks; many comrades were away at this time so that the series wasn't able to be finished. However the formula in itself is interesting and merits to be retained.

The sale of Jeune Garde was carried on the French campuses, universities and CeGEPS, and we predict that these places will remain the main places to distribute Jeune Garde. Meanwhile the summer period was accentuated by several outings in the streets to push Jeune Garde and more regularly, La Lutte and YSF. The big problem is that Jeune Garde comes out very irregularly, its content being above all informative, which makes the sale more difficult several months after its publication.

An important experience was conducted by the movement last winter - Operation "Drink-In". This action involved the women comrades to a very large degree, which doesn't mean that the male comrades didn't participate. The idea was to get the women to go into a tavern; the chosen target was The Gobelet, a sanctuary of fine gourmet food and good beer. The action was spectacular and the publicity which it got from the media was excellent. The booming publicity around this action made the LJS known as a movement of serious young socialists and what is possibly more important to making our ideas and our analysis known on the exploitation of women under capitalism. This was then a big success for the movement and we hope to be able to conduct other actions with as much success if all the comrades participate fully.

Gilbert Rousseau,  
Sept. 21/69.



young  
socialists  
ligue des  
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Discussion  
Bulletin

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Draft Quebec Resolution,  
submitted by the CEC

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## DRAFT QUEBEC RESOLUTION

(From Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes Discussion Bulletin (1969) Vol. 5 No. 4)

*(Some corrections for readability and correction of page order by the Web Ed.)*

Submitted by the YS/LJS Central Executive Council

Recent Quebec history has seen a massive radicalization of youth, far beyond the level reached in English Canada. The special radicalizing factor has been the consciousness of the national oppression of the Québécois. (...) This national oppression has given birth to mass struggles, as in the present movement for a French-only school system. And in all the mass struggles of youth (e.g., the October 1968 occupation movement in the schools, the militancy of young trade unionists) the national struggle has profoundly shaped the demands, forms and character of their movements, and given them a militancy and scope that is so far exceptional in Canada.

French Canada is a nation. The French Canadian people have a common culture, history of oppression as a nation, geographical area, national consciousness, and above all a common language. Quebec is clearly seen as the homeland of the French Canadian nation and national consciousness has developed historically, in the territory of Quebec, although it does extend outside its boundaries.

The French Canadian nation was conquered and subjugated by British imperialism and incorporated into the Canadian state as a semi-colony first of British imperialism and now of English Canadian and U.S. imperialism, backed up by the power of the English-Canadian bourgeoisie's federal government.

One cannot understand a thing about Quebec if one does not understand that it is a nation. Socialists recognize that nations have the right to self-determination. And Quebec is not just a nation but a nation oppressed by imperialism. Quebec is owned and ruled by a foreign bourgeoisie. Historically imperialism has used and fostered national differences to create differences between all oppressed classes including within the working class and in order to oppress certain nations as colonies or semi-colonies such as Quebec. Even though Quebec is a highly industrialized area, it is nevertheless a low-wage area, with an economy centered around extraction of natural resources for export. This situation has been justified on the basis that the French Canadians are somehow inferior. Therefore the Québécois are oppressed not only as workers but also as Québécois.

The Québécois are members of an oppressed nation as is seen by the fact that unemployment is higher, education is inferior, their language is being attacked, and their wages are lower than the average in Canada. The language question is the focal point of the national question at this time. The struggle against national oppression is progressive and must have the full support of revolutionaries.

More than that, in the age of permanent revolution, only a socialist revolution can achieve the full national aspirations of the French Canadian people. Because the source of the national oppression is capitalism, the national struggle must become a class struggle

against capitalism. In Quebec "Capital speaks English." In the final analysis the language confrontation is a class confrontation between French worker and English boss. Only the working class can lead this struggle to victory — achieving national liberation through the overthrow of capitalism — through socialist revolution.

The national bourgeoisie are totally incapable of solving the national question because of their total dependence on imperialism. They realize that a capitalist Quebec can survive only with massive investments from English Canada and the United States, and with a relationship with the capitalist world market. Economic independence and therefore, political independence is totally unthinkable without breaking from the control of Anglo-Canadian and U.S. imperialism. But native capital has too narrow a base (*and*) is far too weak to be able to break (*the chains of*) imperialism. The economy on a capitalist basis would be thrown into an insoluble crisis were this to happen.

Because of the weakness of the national bourgeoisie, the petite-bourgeoisie has played an unusually prominent social role. It has been the chief spokesman for Quebec nationalism and has wielded significant influence through provincial governments. Quebec provincial governments have engaged in many disputes with the federal government to win concessions for the Quebec petite-bourgeoisie and the French Canadian nation, but the record has shown their great weakness. Ambitious economic projects have been stalemated.

The petite-bourgeoisie, caught as it is between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the highly organized working class has shown itself completely impotent. The bourgeoisie and petite-bourgeoisie are incapable then of posing any solution to the national question within the context of Quebec capitalism.

The working class is the only class which can solve the national Question. The working class has absolutely no interest in maintaining capitalism, its interest is to replace it with socialism. The working class is a mighty force in highly industrialized Quebec society. It has the power to transform Quebec society completely. It can win to its side, to its program, the broad layers of the petite-bourgeoisie and farmers. The working class will only solve the national question through a socialist revolution which only it can accomplish. A socialist revolution will wrest the control of Quebec out of the hands of imperialism and the native bourgeoisie.

The powerful, though still emerging strength of the working class has rocked Quebec in the fierce labor struggles of recent years. The union movement has grown rapidly, winning to its ranks broad new layers (teachers, public, white collar employees, etc.), and revealing its potential strength (though only a hint of it) in broad and militant struggles including even the armed occupation of a factory last year. Yet the leadership of the working class organisations have no concept of wielding this power as a means to organize the masses for the national and social liberation of Quebec. Their limited perspective of purely reformist struggle on the trade union level has left the union movement open to increasingly vicious anti-labor measures of the provincial and federal governments. They have failed to link labor's struggles to the aspirations of the Québécois for national liberation, to link up effectively with the struggles of other social layers — the students, the farmers.

The clearest proof of their failure is the lack of an organized party, to express and carry out its political interests in the contest for power with the bourgeois and petite-bourgeois parties. The lack of a labor party leaves labor without a choice in the contest for power and prevents the workers' independent working class demands from becoming generalized on the political level in a struggle for power. It is absolutely essential that the



struggle of labor be given an independent organized political form — a labor party.

Following upon World War II and continuing to this day there occurred mass organization of Quebec Labor and increasing demands for better wages and working conditions. Those demands inevitably take on a national character due to the double oppression of Quebec -- workers as workers and as Québécois. A sector of the national bourgeoisie attempted to meet this mass upsurge through restructuring the Quebec economy, attempting to lessen national disparities in line with the technological advances of neo-capitalism. Since the source of Quebec's economic backwardness was its semi-colonial status, this attempt was fruitless.

The rising demands of Quebec labor came directly into contradiction with the semi-colonial economic status of Quebec. What the Quebec bourgeoisie desired was a bit more of the profits and a bit more flexibility to deal with the working class, but this was not possible.

This was expressed concretely in their attempts to reform the educational system by creating the CEGEPs (*junior colleges*) and proposing deconfessionalization in the Parent Report, but they were incapable of carrying these reforms through effectively because the distorted, extractive character of the Quebec economy over which they had no control could not sustain the sophisticated educational system which they proposed.

The expansion of facilities for higher education occurred in Quebec but in a distorted form. With the establishment of the CEGEPs, those attending institutions of higher learning in Quebec came to constitute one percent of the population. Ten years ago there were 3,600 students at the University of Montreal; in 1968 there were 18,600. More than 50% of the CEGEP students came from working class backgrounds. At U. of M. 36% of the students come from working class families and in the faculty of science the figure is 54% and polytechnical 67%.

The perspective for those students is very dismal largely due to the results of national oppression. Education for those speaking French is inferior. The taxation for schools is based on religion. This means that the largely English speaking Protestant schools are supported by the taxes of the more wealthy English-speaking (*community*) while the largely Catholic French schools are supported by the taxes of the impoverished French Canadians. One just has to compare the opulence of Dawson College, an English CEGEP, with the inadequacy of the average French CEGEP.

This also applies to the universities. McGill (University) has received huge grants from the government of Quebec, in addition to the bulk of corporation subsidies. In Montreal last year there were 21,000 English speaking university students and 18,000 French speaking. Up to the sixties (1960s) there was little scientific research in Quebec, and what research is done, is done mostly in English. Professionals generally have to integrate into the English milieu to get good jobs. For the French, Quebec is a low wage economically distorted enclave out of which there is no possibility of mobility for those not willing to abandon their national rights (even those French Canadians who do work in English, figures show, don't get very far). National oppression strikes French Canadian youth when they try to get a job, in conditions of work, and in the high rate of unemployment. They often have to speak English on the job. Cultural oppression is most clearly expressed through language, and so the struggle for French unilingualism takes on a revolutionary character.

Bilingualism means for the Québécois the necessity to learn and function in



English, particularly in industry and commerce. It is a transmission belt to anglicization, and a liberal cover for national oppression. There is only one partially bilingual area in Canada, and that is Quebec. When there is a choice between English and French and when business functions in English the tendency is clear. It is estimated that within 15 years Montreal will be a majority English-speaking city. The struggle for unilingualism is the front line of the struggle for the survival of the Quebec nation. A unilingual school system is a means of stemming assimilation. The Quebec bourgeoisie has shown its clear subservience to imperialism by opposing this demand.

The international radicalization has had an important impact on Quebec youth. Vietnam has served as an important radicalizing factor, although not yet resulting in the same mass mobilizations and internationalist consciousness for reasons outlined in the anti-war document. There have been some large demonstrations such as the mobilization of a few thousand Quebec youth across Quebec by UGEQ (*l'Union générale des étudiant(e)s du Québec, the principal student union --ed.*) in November (19)67, but not with the same frequency as in English Canada. (*The events of 1968 in*) France has also had a big impact as was to be seen in the October CEGEP occupations and through most of the militant tendencies expressed through UGEQ before October.

The only movement which has been able to overcome the gap between the radicalization of the mass and the lack of leadership has been the unilingual movement. Although it is not highly organized and lacks a structure it has been able to call thousands into the streets. The reasons for its success have been the power and appeal of the issue of unilingualism, its sticking to that single issue and its emphasis on mass mobilization. It has been key in preventing the demoralization which followed the decline of the CEGEP occupation movement from being more long term and has shown the way to lead the movement forward despite the fact that it does not replace the need for a conscious socialist student leadership.

## **Our Tasks and Perspectives**

The situation in Quebec provides unique opportunities for our movement. On the one hand the national question has led to a far wider layer of radicalized youth than in English Canada and on the other (hand) is the crisis of leadership. The other left tendencies are generally weaker in Quebec. Only our movement has met the test and continued to grow and deepen its roots in the French Canadian milieu.

The key tasks that stand before us are the assembling of the essential cadres and their training in the program and outlook of Trotskyism in the LJS/LSO and (our) intervening in the living struggle to take the leadership of the student movement. Key to our ability to do this is our transitional program. Our program addresses itself to the particular needs of the students and young workers while at the same time leading them into conflict with the bourgeois state. Our program is understandable and it is posed in such a way as to win the support of the mass of students and workers. Often this requires defensively posed demands, that is demands which do not cut across bourgeois democratic rights but base themselves on these concepts in order to mobilize the mass against the bourgeois state. At the same time our program poses demands which the bourgeois are unable to meet and thus educating youth in the socialist outlook and leading the movement forward to the struggle for power.

SOME of the demands in a transitional program for the Quebec student movement are:

- Teach the true history of the national struggle of French Canada.
- For a non-religious, state-run, free, unilingual school system financed through



- the taxing of the rich, the giant corporations.
- The expansion of the university and all other school facilities both in size and quality to meet the needs of Quebec students.
- For French as the language of industry, commerce, government and education.
- For a student salary.
- For student-faculty control of the schools.
- Guaranteed jobs for all graduates in their area of study, guaranteed jobs for all youth at a decent standard of living.
- Cops off the campus, out of the schools.
- End sexual, social, economic and legal oppression of women.
- For student choice of textbooks and adequate textual materials in French.

The LJS intervened effectively with its program in the CEGEP occupation movement and was the only force to attempt to give the struggle leadership. Out of this intervention the LJS drew to itself for the first time significant French Canadian forces (*into its ranks --ed.*) We have also intervened dynamically in the unilingual movement, helping to maintain its mass, single issue character. The LJS is so far the only Quebec left tendency to carry any struggle around the question of women's liberation (*as well*).

The overall task of the LJS is to win youth to the socialist perspective of the national question under its leadership. The LJS puts forward the perspective of the revolutionary leadership of the working class in the national struggle, in terms of the immediate tasks at hand -- namely the creation of a working class political party. In putting forward this orientation we provide the perspective of opening up the impasse of Quebec labor, nationalist and student movements and the basis of struggle against the petit-bourgeois tendencies on the left and right.

It is the elementary duty of the LJS to educate youth in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, both in terms of the strategic importance of the fullest possible unity with the revolutionary forces in English Canada, and in terms of the world revolution. Revolutionary internationalism means above all, at this time, the defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The LJS must decisively intervene in the day to day struggle for national rights, and in particular the struggle for French unilingualism in Quebec, on the broadest level, and most specifically as this question effects student youth. We attempt to assure that the movement remains single issue and avoids the pitfalls of electoralism, remaining a militant, mass movement.

The problem which faces the LJS at this time is how best to move into the leadership of the student movement. This requires first of all the building of the LJS, specifically JS clubs on all campuses and high schools, and the embryo of the vanguard party, the LSO. We cannot lead unless we recruit and develop the cadres capable of applying the transitional program to the student movement and leading mass struggles. Our first priority is the development of such cadre. This requires a strategical plan of active intervention into the struggles of to-day. There is of course no dichotomy between cadre-building and struggling for the leadership of the student movement, in fact the two go hand in hand.

We immerse ourselves in the struggles going on now. To lead we must find the bridge between the mass base of militants and the revolutionary leadership. That bridge exists in the transitional program concretely applied. We intervene in the movement on the level of action by organizing where possible mass mobilizations around transitional demands



demands, by challenging the other tendencies to unite in the leadership of such mobilisations. On the propagandistic level we educate the radicalizing youth on the need for a revolutionary working class party and the struggle for socialism. Our ascendancy to leadership will come through the development and expansion of our own cadre and through showing in the struggle the correctness of our leadership and program before the mass.

### **English Canadian youth**

English Canadian and immigrant youth are part of the ethnic minorities within the French Canadian nation. Many of these youth feel threatened by the national struggle and in particular, unilingualism. In reality their interests lie with the liberatory struggle of the French Canadian working class. They have no interest in the oppression of Quebec by English Canadian and American capital. The future socialist revolution which will solve the national question in Quebec will free English Canadian and immigrant youth from their oppression as youth and free English Canadian and immigrant workers from their oppression under capitalism. This oppression is often strengthened by the divisions created between English-speaking, immigrant, and French speaking workers. Youth from ethnic minorities must be won to support for self-determination and further to support for a unilingual Quebec now.

### **Young Women**

Young women are beginning to enter the struggle in greater numbers although there are still few involved. Young women are triply oppressed as women, as Québécois, as workers and as youth. Discrimination against women is even more blatant in Quebec than in English Canada. The laws, family, Church, etc have conspired to relegate women to an inferior social role and constitute great barriers in the way of women's liberation. It is important that in the developing radicalization young women (that they) begin to organize for their liberation. The Quebec movement stands before an indispensable task - the active involvement of women at all levels, particularly in the leadership of the movement.

### **Characterization of the Youth Radicalization**

The continuing and increasing impact of the national question combined with the awakening effect of the "Quiet Revolution" (*the heightened urbanization and industrialization of Quebec society, along with the development of Quebec state resource enterprises in the 1950s and 1960s --ed.*) have developed a generation of youth which is both conscious of national oppression and prepared to fight for it. In Quebec we find wide layers of radicalized youth, both students and workers. Since the radicalization is in response to direct, overt oppression the layer of radicalized youth is broader than in English Canada. At the same time, because the national question can only be solved through a working class revolution, there is a great potential for consciousness to develop rapidly. There is a great receptivity to socialism.

The present situation is that wide layers of the radicalized youth lack any real working class political traditions. There is not, nor has there ever been, any working class political party of any significance, leadership of Quebec politics has always been divided between the bourgeoisie and the petite-bourgeoisie. In the past the petite-bourgeoisie have always been the leaders on the national question. Although it is becoming more and more clear to wider layers that the petite-bourgeoisie is unable to lead the national



struggle in the direction that it must take, the youth give wide support to the petit-bourgeois electoralist Parti Québécois in the absence of deep political understanding of the radicalized layers and the absence of a labor party.

The student movement must move towards joining forces with the working class if it is going to play a positive role in the revolutionary process. On the whole the radicalized students recognize the working class as a progressive force and there has been far greater solidarity with the worker's struggles by the students in Quebec, but they do not understand clearly the role or potential of the working class. The linking with the class is extremely difficult in the absence of a mass labor party. This absence makes it difficult for the radicalized youth to see the perspective of the working class struggle. This is the objective basis for the attempts to find short cuts in the struggle against capitalism. This building of a mass labor party is key not only for the development of the working class but would also qualitatively facilitate the motion of the student movement towards the class.

The dominant characteristics of the radicalized youth are militancy, impatience and a search for revolutionary solutions. Given the political crisis of the working class this causes a strong tendency to ultra-leftism, spontaneism and petit-bourgeois reformism as well. Ultra-leftism and spontaneism are not dominant in the student movement but pose out chief competition among the other left political tendencies, in particular the FLP (*Front de Libération Populaire*), an ultra-left, spontaneist current. The radicalised youth are characterized by great instability and explosiveness. There is a great searching for solutions, for ways out, a rapid testing of organisations and programs.

### **Tasks in English Canada**

The national struggle in Quebec has not yet received a significant response from English Canadian students. There is great interest but little solidarity and understanding. This is not to say that the national struggle in Quebec will not become (as) key (a) radicalizing factor as the black struggle has been in the (USA); indeed it will.

*We must dedicate ourselves to more active support for the national struggle both through propaganda and specific solidarity actions where possible, winning English Canadian and immigrant youth to support for self-determination and French unilingualism. Only we are able to provide the revolutionary socialist analysis and program on this question.*

### **Other tendencies**

Parti Québécois: The PQ is a petit-bourgeois party both in social base and program. At the same time, however, it is the major political party that claims to be nationalist. But its nationalism only goes so far as a program for constitutional independence, and consequently economic interdependence within the English Canadian capitalist market, thus making some reforms in the framework of the present Canadian state. This shows the bankruptcy of the petite-bourgeoisie in dealing with the national question. It is a party which attempts to unite all sectors, all classes of Quebec society and in this way blurs the real class nature of the national question. But being the major nationalist political party, the PQ has won support, or at least critical support, of the vast majority of youth militants who see the PQ as a step forward for the independentist movement. The PQ obscures the need for a real working class alternative. It is an obstacle in the way of the necessary



direction the national struggle must take, that is a socialist direction.

Front de Libération Populaire: The FLP is a tendency which has been able to carry some mobilizations recently. They consider themselves socialist and independentist. They consider themselves to be the revolutionary party. They have many of the characteristics of a petit-bourgeois revolutionary tendency. They counterpose a spark theory of mobilizations to building a mass movement through a transitional program. They feel that the revolution will be made by bringing people into the streets and not by developing a proletarian vanguard party which sinks its roots in the mass movement and at the crucial moment leads the proletariat to power. They have no worked out strategy for winning the working class to socialism. They tend to oppose the trade unions and speak to the workers from the outside. The FLP are the organized expression of spontaneism and are our main organized opposition in the student movement -- at this time.

Terrorism: The terrorist tendency, which considers itself revolutionary, sees its role as the agitation and awakening of the mass through bombings. Its targets over the last period have been companies involved in union and national struggles. The same criticisms apply against terrorism as against the spark theory of the FLP. Terrorist bombings open up the whole radical movement for attack because they create an atmosphere in which the bourgeoisie can attempt to isolate and victimize the radicals. Terrorism is the worst expression of the general impatience of the Quebec youth left and must be combated vigorously (*here a description of the FLQ, Front de Libération du Québec-- Ed.*)

Other groups: The Stalinists (*pro-Moscow Communist Party*) and the Social-Democrats (*a reference to the then existing embryonic, federalist, anglophone Quebec section of the NDP -- Ed.*) at this time have virtually no forces and no following among Quebec students. The opposition, however covert, of both of these political tendencies to the national struggle in Quebec immediately limits their appeal.

The Maoists are represented by the Internationalists and the Canadian Party of Labour. They are primarily based on the English-Canadian campuses. The Canadian Party of Labour considers the national struggle to be reactionary while the Internationalists give it lip service while denouncing French unilingualism as "racist." (*This was shortly before the emergence of the mass francophone -- but short-lived -- youth Maoist tendency En Lutte -- Ed.*)

### **The Key Problems of the Youth Radicalization;**

The key problems are those of leadership and organisation. On the one hand there is a widespread radicalization; on the other, there is almost no leadership and no forms of mass organisation since the death of UGEQ.

The crisis of leadership was posed clearly last year by the tremendous spontaneous occupation of the CEGEPs and the subsequent developments. The spontaneous occupations caused by the sudden realization of the bankruptcy of the school system, could only be sustained, win partial victories and defend themselves adequately with a correct leadership understanding the necessity of fighting for transitional demands and appealing for mass support from the population. This the UGEQ leadership was totally incapable of providing. Before October they were characterized by verbal radicalism and bureaucratic operating. They had no connection with the mass and no concept of how to lead it. Challenged by the events, they retreated into total inactivity and abject spontaneism to justify their dismal failure to lead. Taking their spontaneism to its logical extreme they abdicated from giving leadership and UGEQ died. At the congress held in



May there was no tendency able or willing to give leadership to UGEQ, including ourselves. With UGEQ falling apart we did not feel that we wanted to take the responsibility for it nor were we in a position to save it.

The fall of UGEQ was a result of its leadership and its concept of a program and not because of the eclipsing of the need for broad defensive student formations particularly in the height of the struggle. The need for co-ordination of student struggles and leadership exists and increases, be they around specific student demands or around the national question and other broad social questions. Such co-ordination will undoubtedly reappear in some form in the process of the struggle.

The Mouvement Syndical Politique is a very heterogeneous student organisation regrouping many of the more active militants together through their individual school cells or through broader action committees on campus. It arose out of the dissolution of UGEQ and poses itself as the leadership of student struggles. The MSP lacks any defined ideology although the FLP is one of the leading tendencies in the group.

As yet we have had no real experience with the MSP aside from our recent exclusion from its founding congress. One thing is clear: unless the MSP adopts a mass perspective and a transitional approach to the questions facing Quebec students, it will not be able to deal with the questions of leadership, organisation and program of the student movement, even for a time. We will work with and within the MSP where possible, recognizing that it contains many good elements and is very fluid in its development.

There exists at the present time no mass student organisations or leadership with hegemony over the student movement. The militants are scattered. There are more tendencies than ever before but less unified leadership. There exists a mass radical student base but no one but the unilingual movement has yet been able to mobilize it.

*(End of document – Ed)*



UGEQ & THE QUEBEC CAMPUSES -- A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this contribution is informational. Lacking the experience necessary for the formulation of a clear line on all aspects of our work in Quebec, we feel nevertheless that a brief consideration of the Quebec scene could be a valuable contribution to the more general campus and youth arena discussion.

As the CEC document has noted, the relatively more advanced level of the student movement in Quebec stems from the role of the national question. National oppression at both the cultural and economic levels has forced upon the French Canadian students the awareness that they are not just students, but part of Quebec society. Limited opportunities for advancement after graduation have led to their identification with the working class, as has the (mistaken) belief on the part of many nationalist students that the Quebecois are an ethnic class.

Quebec students are also more influenced by developments in Europe than are their English Canadian counterparts. All of the foregoing factors played a role in the formation of UGEQ in 1964. The latter was founded on the doctrine of student syndicalism, modeled on the Charte de Grenoble of the student movement in France, and represented a break with CUS on both nationalist grounds and on the basis of the existence of a greater degree of radicalism among Quebec student leaders than among English Canadian student leaders.

Given that UGEQ is a union, and as such identifies itself with the union movement, the situation of Quebec campuses represents a qualitative advancement vis a vis the rest of Canada. On the other hand, in terms of consistent struggles around either the Vietnam war or student power issues, English Canada and the English language Quebec campuses have had the lead. The reasons for this lie in the nature of UGEQ, which can be characterized as a left-wing bureaucracy, with both the opportunist and sectarian features common to such formations. UGEQ's bureaucratic nature originates not in the bureaucratized character of the labor movement of which it is -- in a special way -- a part, but rather in the fact that it is merely a radical and nationalist outgrowth of the whole student council syndrome -- of CUS. It was formed from the top by bureaucratic student leaders.

At the level of the individual campus, UGEQ's bureaucratic aspect is manifested in the failure of the elected student leadership to make UGEQ a subject of discussion, awareness, criticism and support. This situation is particularly acute on the English campuses, where however it takes a different form to be discussed later. The student leadership on the French campuses, by virtue of their left-wing bureaucratic nature, represent miniature replicas of both the faults and the advantages of UGEQ. For example, at the University of Montreal this year the social sciences students went on strike over a campus issue -- the nature of the lecture system, whose vastness, formality, and inherent lack of communication they opposed. The general union of U. of Montreal students (AGEU) limited its support to the verbal, making it impossible for the social science students to mobilize the mass of U. of M. students against the administration.

The inactivity of these local campus leaderships, coupled with their leftist verbiage has reinforced the tendency already present on the French campuses not to organize political action committees independent of the official leadership. This tendency is in part a hangover from the rigid institutional nature of the French universities in Quebec, dominated as they were by the Church. An indication of it is the fact that we are uncertain as to the present existence of an ISA (Levequeist) group on the U of M or other campuses, or the on-campus existence of RIN groups, although both groups have large off-campus youth followings, whose existence is hard to ignore. Another indication of this tendency has been the failure of previous attempts on the part of contacts of our movement to establish anti-Vietnam-war committees.



## VIETNAM AND QUEBEC STUDENTS

UGEQ is the focus of the inter-campus struggle against the war. Insofar as UGEQ has the potential for mobilizing vast numbers of students and the resources for carrying a consistent educational campaign this is an advantage. Moreover, insofar as UGEQ for all its faults is a conscious affirmation by Quebec students of the right of Quebec to self-determination, the student union is a vehicle ideally suited to making students aware of the link between the Quebecis' struggle for national liberation and that of the Vietnamese.

Due again to its bureaucratic and opportunist character mentioned above UGEQ has to date failed to live up to its potential in the anti-war movement. It carried two main actions this year: the speaking tour by 3 NLF students, and the November 17 demonstration called in reply to the International Union of Students' appeal. Apart from its lack of consistent work in this field, UGEQ's most serious failure was its refusal to support the October 21, April 6 and April 26 demonstrations--in fact, any demonstrations not called by itself, and its failure to campaign in particular for an end to Quebec and Canadian complicity with the war. An indication of its ineffectiveness in politicizing students by means of this issue was clearly seen in the signs carried by U. of M. students on November 17 calling for "Peace in Vietnam".

## VIETNAM - UGEQ - SAEWV - Our Orientation

On the French campuses we must attempt to build independent Vietnam committees. Our major effort must be one of working through these committees to force UGEQ to take Vietnam seriously. The English campus committees must of course do the same, which only needs saying because to date they have operated independently of UGEQ, taking from it what they could in the way of films and speakers, but ignoring their responsibility to build the anti-war movement as a whole through it.

It would be a mistake at the present time to orient our efforts toward the building of SAEWV in Quebec, or even of a Quebec based equivalent. Although local campus committees should be built for the purpose described above wherever we have comrades, Vietnam does not lend itself to this type of formation here. To attempt to build a mass movement purely against the war would be to ignore the potential advantage of UGEQ's being both a student union and a "nationalist" formation. UGEQ relates the students' exploitation as students and as Quebecois. If within this context the question of Vietnam can be intensified through the pressure of the independent committees, Vietnam can play a greater radicalizing role than it could within a single-issue movement.

Frazer has suggested in her document that "The ideal way to link student issues with other issues would be through organisational unity, as in Europe, where socialist youth organisations lead both the student power struggle and the anti-war movement." Keeping in mind that UGEQ is not a socialist organisation and that we are not in agreement with Frazer's global position, we do view the Quebec situation as one in which we should work as anti-war activists and socialists within UGEQ, rather than outside it, as we have done in the past. Although there has been some response to the idea of SAEWV on the part of individuals on the French campuses, we do not believe that a single-issue anti-war student movement can or should be built on a mass basis in Quebec. UGEQ should be encouraged to send delegates to SAEWV conferences - and vice versa - for the purpose of communication.

## QUEBEC AND THE STUDENT POWER MOVEMENT

There is no student power movement conceived as such on the French campuses. There are no student power groups, partly because of the general tendency



not to form committees, but more because UGEQ is seen as the vehicle through which student demands must be raised. Questions pertaining to education are seen more in relation to the government than to a given school's administration, but since UGEQ has no political affiliations - doesn't for example support the NDP, it acts merely as a weak pressure group on the government.

We are not in a position to inaugurate student power formations on the French campuses. Our LJS clubs can, however popularize the idea of confronting the administration over democratic demands as a means of revealing the structure of the bourgeois university and its role in capitalist society. The existence of left student bureaucracies on these campuses suggests the possibility of formal informal caucuses of students around the LJS who are aware of the need to push the syndicates (student leadership representative of UGEQ) to carry mass struggles within the school and to call for UGEQ's adoption of a more radical program and its democratization. A university-oriented LJS paper would be useful in this connection. La Lutte Ouvriere could be modified to meet this need by the inclusion of greater coverage of student events around the world - Belgrade, Berkeley, Paris, English Canada, etc. Articles could relate the dilemma of the student movement to the need for a labor party in Quebec, take up the question of UGEQ, etc. The intent, needless to say, would be not to destroy La Lutte's general appeal in Quebec, but to make it useful as well for our specific campus work. If this modification is not possible, we may have to think in terms of the LJS paper mentioned above.

#### The English Campuses

The English campuses are part of UGEQ, but the awareness of the student mass of what UGEQ is remains highly limited. The important thing to remember is that although most English students accept the union only in spite of its political stands, their repeated affirmation of the need to remain in UGEQ indicates at least a realization that they are Quebecois and short of leaving Quebec, must become a part of its life.

Even the radicals on these campuses are isolated from developments on the French campuses, and unaware of their responsibility to support UGEQ in a real way by forcing it to take less opportunist positions, to mount serious campaigns around slogans like the one for free tuition, to popularize and open for discussion its stands in support of strikes, the Valliere/Dagnon defence group, the French students and workers' revolt, etc. The official representation from these campuses play a conservatizing role within UGEQ, making it imperative for us to develop a popular force for combatting this tendency. This force can be developed through the student power groups, and should also be a vehicle for the conveyance of our line on students, and the role they can play in changing the world.

by W Mill and D Campbell



The whole local was in favour of carrying a campaign during the summer student unemployment. However, differences arose on the evaluation of possibilities and principally on methods of action.

Two lines were proposed. One saw the campaign in this framework: that we wanted to build as big a campaign as possible and that an action of mass proportions was perhaps possible. That we must begin by putting out a program and initiating actions, which at first may be no larger than ourselves and maybe some contacts, but through these initial actions and our political intervention on the question (leaflets, articles, discussions with other individuals and groups) we would be able to build support towards a major action. This line of action was defeated by the local.

The other line presented and finally adopted by the local was the following: That this question had mass potential and that we must formulate our line of action in the perspective of launching a mass action. "Technique" must be the prime discussion in the working out of our line of action. What we must do first is create the atmosphere, that is awaken the students to the question first through agitational work, then after a set period, bring these already awakened masses into action. The 2 stages were to be divided, as timing is an important factor in our technique. The first stage would be one of pure agitation. We would in this period paste stickers with catchy slogans all around the city in order to catch the interest of the students. Irony and catchy-phrases would make people listen. But this agitation must remain anonymous; that is, it must not be identified with any political grouping or even with an ideology that is political.

During this period as well, we would be getting into contact with individuals and groups which might be interested in participating in a united front on this question. We would put forward to them a perspective of a mass action during the summer.

After a certain cut-off date, the period of propaganda would begin, around the same time as the proposed action. The propaganda would be through a program of the united front and through a program of the LJS.

What happened with the campaign? A committee was elected by the local. The first sticker was run off with the slogan "On va les avoir les jobs" and put up. As there was no name, address, or telephone number on the sticker we had no direct response but we waited for them to do their work. Shortly, thereafter, a small poster was made up with the slogan "Du Travail, Non? Du Trouble, Oui", this time with a telephone number but no other identification. These posters were posted up. Three comrades were arrested, two were maltreated at the station, one, a high schooler, was returned unharmed to his parents who kept him in custody, and all were later called to court and fined. This poster, because of the phone number, received much response in the form of telephone calls, most of which were hostile, especially as some feared it was a bomb threat. But Le Devoir carried an article on the brutality of the police towards our comrades and spoke of the LJS campaign against unemployment. During the period, we were contacting individuals and groups in order to invite them to a planning meeting, no one showed up but ourselves. We tried again and again no one showed up.

In the meantime a demonstration against unemployment of about 50 highschool students had taken place, followed by an inside rally and discussion. We participated with a leaflet which did not put forward any program or political line but was meant to be ironic and humorous. We participated in the discussion afterwards giving some perspective to the question, but in an unplanned fashion. Then the Comité des Jeunes de Mercier launched a hunger strike on the question of unemployment and called for a teach-in on the day we had planned for our mass action. By this time it was obvious to us that we were isolated and that the Comité des Jeunes was carrying a lot of activities and the only action on the issue and that they were receiving a lot of publicity. We decided to try to participate with them. We were never able to join with them on the real organisation of the action but we participated in the demonstrations that took place. The number of demonstrations on unemployment got out between 50 - 300 people in spite of all the publicity and the support received by the CSN and other Comité des Citoyens. We intervened with our paper and a leaflet which put forward something of our program. Results: Our program was not picked up, we never became in any way even the joint leaders of the campaign, we won no recruits or even contacts, and we spent a lot of money. On the whole the campaign was



a total failure for us.

Why did our efforts end in such complete failure? What can we learn from the campaign?

First of all, what is this mass movement we are so enamoured with? It is not in the least bit consistent. Its ebbs are great. Broad numbers of youth can be mobilized for demonstrations on certain issues- unilingualism and the rotten state of the educational system. But an organisational meeting of the LIS can get out only 40 people and very few of these are students. They are at a very low level of political understanding and of organizational understanding. Youth cannot be mobilized on very many burning questions because their development is very low and very one-sided. They are "tannés" when it comes to the school system and the language question, but their understanding is not profound. We had had no past experience of a mass movement or any movement on student unemployment prior to our first discussions of a campaign. Therefore, unless we could plead that the level of political generalisation among students is higher than it actually is, we had to realize that we were starting this campaign with limited possibilities and base our tactics on this objective reality.

The question of how to build a consistent mass movement, the question of how even mass action was put into question by this campaign. The tactical approach adopted to build this campaign was completely incorrect. It was based on a misconception of the level of the Quebec student movement and of youth in general and a misconception of our tasks. The first month, the 'period of agitation' was a complete waste of time. What it meant in reality was that we stood on the side lines while others built real actions, not mass actions but socialists have been satisfied before with, at times, less than mass actions. It meant that we were not there at the beginning trying to politicise the actions because we were too busy thinking about some future masses. We missed our chance to make some very valuable contacts with 150 highschoolers at the first demonstration because they had chosen to carry an action while we were still in our period of anonymous agitation.

Our program wasn't picked up even by individuals or even in part because we did n't publish it until after the campaign led by another group was well underway and half over.

The tactical approach we undertook was not a socialist method of action. Agitation and propaganda cannot be divided. They must be parts of a whole, especially in a period which we all agree is characterised by its low political level. Pure agitation can work in a mass situation where the political groundwork has already been well laid and even then we wouldn't divide the two-- we wouldn't have to, as we wouldn't have to fear saying "socialist". We tried to build this mass action through a spark, through gimmicks, and we failed completely. We couldn't manufacture the mass through gimmicks. We couldn't build a mass action on this question because Quebec youth are on a very low level of political understanding. But we could have carried a campaign and made some small gains had we followed the defeated line. Instead we got nothing because we tried for too much. We lost touch with reality.



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and ended in complete failure.

How will we build a consistent mass movement? We will build it through politisation, by going through experiences with the youth and by putting forward a program for each situation, a program which generalises on the single-issue questions and leads them to a broader understanding. It is politisation, not mobilisation, which is our major task.

How will we become the leadership of a mass movement? We will not become the leadership through anonymous ignoring and prodding or by employing organisational gimmicks. We, the LJS, can and will become the leadership through the struggle to win the mass to our program, explaining it and convincing them of its validity. This process requires our participation in action of course. We aim to make these serve as educational experiences for the mass.

We will become the leadership by pushing ourselves, not as faceless militants, but the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, forward dynamically; by building our organisation through recruitment and education; by the development of a real leadership group which can put forward our ideas clearly and forcefully; by being everywhere with our newspaper by participating actively and with a political contribution at demonstrations; by putting forward our line at public meetings. We will become the most influential through building ourselves by winning people to our ranks by playing the role which is our major role - that of politicisation.

This is our primary task, this is what is most urgently needed in Quebec, and this is how we will become the leadership. It hasn't been fast enough a method? Building a mass vanguard youth movement is not a task quickly accomplished. This method hasn't been effective enough in the past? We haven't carried it effectively in the past. We have now at least the nucleus of forces to put ourselves forward much more effectively and to become a real force in Quebec. We are the only force in Quebec with a well-developed ideology and an understanding of how to politicise the youth, how to bring them to a Socialist consciousness. Let's do this. Let's make the LJS, not individual LJS'ers known as the most dynamic and the most politicized of all the youth groups on the left.

There have been many accusations of attentisme (of wait-and-see attitudes) but the approach we took to this campaign, an approach which is still accepted by some comrades, clearly put us in that position of standing on the sidelines while others went out and got an anti-unemployment campaign moving? Where were we? We missed the boat. Where was our program? It was waiting for the masses to appear in unthinking action before delivery. This is not the way the LJS will become the leadership of anything.



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### III The Others and the LJS

The Front de Liberation Populaire (FLP-People's Liberation Front)

The FLP is the creation of the upheavals which are beginning to sweep, with all that that implies in terms of frustration, confusion and political aberrations. It recruits broadly around two themes which it never develops; Independence and Socialism around purely ultraleft language and action, products of its lack of political perspectives and its organizational inadequacy. The majority of its militants and sympathizers come from the student milieu and, to a lesser degree, from other marginal layers of the society. The worker's committees and citizens committees constitute a privileged field of activity for the FLP. Beyond the fact that these committees are very open, the close ties which it has with the Company of Young Canadians greatly facilitates its entry into this milieu.

The FLP is showy and boisterous, its organizational structures are loose, its base undisciplined, its components hardly coordinated, its ideology and political theories primitive and embryonic. Differences abound in it and only with difficulty can the FLP concretely take a position on the major problems. And yet, at present it is the most important of the Québécois groupuscules, the one which can boast of the largest number of members and a certain implantation outside of the Montreal region. It is largely under its banner that the McGill Français and, especially, the June 24 demonstrations took place. Its big advantage over most of the other groupuscules, is that it doesn't have the problem of adapting to the québécois reality: it is the direct product of it, closely reflecting the present political consciousness of the québécois student movement; dynamic, militant, aggressive, but with an instinctive and organic politicization rather than a rational and consistent one.

The FLP evidently didn't itself provoke the mobilizations of McGill Français and June 24. Its organizational implantation is too weak, its base too limited. But the FLP understood that the Quebec student movement is very sensitive to the atmosphere which surrounds it, that it is unusually available, that it likes nothing better than to defy the established order, especially when it concerns the national question; for it is there that this movement understands, or at least, perceives the true character of the established order. The FLP generally knows how to create around its actions the appropriate atmosphere to capture the imagination and enthusiasm of the student movement; it knows how to choose the terrain where it will carry out its struggles.

The FLP is adventurist, ultra-left, more or less spontaneist and definitely dangerous, not only for us but also and especially for the student movement in Quebec. Its lack of clear political perspective combined with its unbridled activism can only eventually lead the student movement to a dead end and probably break its back.

It becomes urgent that a real revolutionary Marxist leadership takes the initiative to provoke and to lead the struggles of the student movement if we don't want to see shortly the beginning of a big setback. And it is not with leaflets saying "I told you so" or with long theoretical discussions (as correct and brilliant as they may be) that we will become the alternative to the FLP. But with a combination (delicate, yes!) of outlook and propagandistic and educational action... we can take the mass movement in hand without trying to break it, to reduce its aggressiveness or to chatise it.

The LJS must render useless and ridiculous all the FLP's and other products of frustration and political ignorance. But the LJS will only do that if it proves itself superior to the FLP in mass action, in practice as well as in theory and in the explanation of the weaknesses and the shortcomings of the other groupuscules.



## The Maoists

The Mouvement communiste québécois (m-1) (Quebec Communist Movement-m-1) better known by its pompous name of "Intellectuals and workers, Patriots of Quebec" has implanted itself a bit everywhere. Its student wing the Revolutionary Quebec Youth (Ex-Internationalists) have sections at McGill, Sir George Williams, University of Montreal and several CEGEPs. They are very active, showing a fantastic zeal to pour out "Mao-Tse Tung thought" and throw out the Trotskyists from their meetings and the meetings of others. Their hysterical sectarianism, their Stalinist tactics, their hostile attitude towards the language question can only alienate them from the student mass. We shouldn't consider them as serious opponents. Normally they would only recruit thwarted mystics, spiritual orphans, and ex-priests. Their success can only come from the vacuum, which the LJS will allow if it stagnates, if it turns itself from its essential tasks to get bogged down in the chimera of a student quasi-syndicalism.

## The Mouvement syndical politique (MSP) (Political Union Movement)

The origin of the MSP goes back to the last convention of UGEQ. Launched by the C.I.S. (Comité Indépendance-Socialisme- Committee for Independence and Socialism), today fused with the FLP, it is constituted in a very heterogeneous coalition grouping elements of diverse tendencies and independents.

Its objective was to take the leadership of UGEQ and convert it to a political union. Around its program, the MSP seemed to be able to reunite a weak majority of the convention. However, the convention didn't have a follow up. Several thousand dollars in debt, torn apart by struggles of the tendencies, UGEQ disappeared several weeks later. The MSP was to be the survivor. It participated actively in McGill Français; at L'opération Congrès, and at the demonstration of June 24th. Last summer, what remained of the MSP decided to reorganize itself and to implant itself everywhere on the campuses, in Montreal and elsewhere in Quebec.

Presently, the goal of the MSP is essentially to 'bring together in a supple framework all the radical militants...up until now practically isolated,' in order to 'mobilize enough militants to carry the student struggles to a more global level.' Its organisation is pyramidal: base cells regrouped in action committees in a given academic institution, themselves regrouped in regional committees etc. The cells don't encompass exclusively members of the MSP. Theoretically, any radical can participate in the cells. In practice, the Trotskyists and the Maoists are excluded from them.

Presently the MSP itself only pretends to want to play a role of coordinator of the student struggles. The FLP plays the determining role inside the MSP. The FLP is the only external organized tendency to be tolerated internally. Stan Gray, one of the principal leaders of the FLP, contributed to the organisation of the assembly of August 22 where 200 militants of the MSP and its cells met in Quebec City. Several leading members of the FLP are equally members of the MSP--which gives rise to divergencies between those who want to create a German-style SDS and those who see the MSP as a student FLP.

The perspective of entrism with an unfurled flag which the majority tendency (in the EC) proposes can only lead to a paralysis or to a considerable reduction of our independent activity on the campuses. To be effective, to take the leadership of the MSP, the work inside it would have to be regular, constant, and intensive; it would necessitate the work of all the comrades involved, that is to say, all the time of all the comrades in the high school and CEGEPs. The LJS does not have the forces to carry out this work which, when all is said and done, is not really necessary.

It's particularly necessary not to overestimate the intervention capacity of the MSP in the student movement. The MSP will be all the more important if the LJS will



absent, whether physically or politically. It would be dangerous to take the MSP for what it isn't, for THE student movement, to imagine the MSP is such a formidable adversary that it dominates everywhere, that all the radicals will cling to it automatically, that the radicalization of the student movement takes place through it. The MSP possesses a certain power of attraction, but it lacks something fundamental, a clear political perspective and a certain organisational coherence. The majority of the best militants are conscious of that and if they are in the MSP, nevertheless, it is that they believe there is no place else to go. The LJS can offer this political perspective, this organizational cohesion, all the more easily if it has a free hand to lead its own actions, if it can pose itself as a pole of attraction for all the independent militants, for all who participate in the MSP cells and who will be disgusted by the tendency struggles, by the perpetual divergencies, by the numerous centrifugal forces which will play on its militants.

To participate in the factional quarrels of the MSP, is to run the risk of discrediting oneself along with the other tendencies which dispute among themselves organizational supremacy. To imagine that the LJS can pick up the pieces is to misunderstand the mentality of the québécois student who would rather search for something new than something which would have been mud-splattered by the explosion.

The LJS attitude towards the MSP should be nearly like that of the YSA towards SDS. We should be ready to work with the MSP in united fronts, but we shouldn't work inside the MSP, for we don't have to fear polemicizing with the MSP, to confront its actions and its ideas, whenever we find it necessary.

Our sectors of intervention are already considerable. Work in the unilingual movement will be much more profitable, both for the Quebec student movement and for the LJS/YS. The actual problem for the LJS is to utilize at a maximum its meagre forces to get the machine functioning well. For the present this excludes entry work in other organizations. Progressively, as the ranks of the LJS swell with new recruits, as the machine becomes more rapid and more effective, this will signify that the consideration of an entrust outlook will have become an aberration.

-edited by Leon Peillard  
Text submitted by the minority tendency.



young  
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1968?  
Discussion  
Bulletin

*Abie*

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## WORKING WITH FOREIGN STUDENTS

SUBMITTED BY Ken Hiebert--Marcel

One of the leaders of the Ligue Communiste was first recruited to the Trotskyist movement by a handful of comrades in Montreal. This example should show us the importance of working with students from other countries. Any such student we recruit may help building the revolutionary movement in his own country and may also do very effective work here explaining to Canadian students what imperialism is doing to his country.

Iranian students in West Germany played an important part in the radicalization of West German youth. Together with the German SDS they organized demonstrations to greet the Shah of Iran when he visited West Germany and they organized a campaign to expose the oppression of the Iranian people. Our co-thinkers in the U. S. are working closely with Arab students to explain the situation in the Middle East.

We have had little experience in working with foreign students but I will suggest that some of the problems may be.

Students from a country with a dictatorial government may be subject to intimidation. Such governments often keep a close watch on the political activities and social contacts of their students overseas.

Radical students from Third World countries are quite likely to identify strongly with the Chinese Revolution and therefore with Maoism.

Foreign students may have little interest in the struggle for Socialism in Canada. We must show them the international aspects of our movement. Our movement has publications in many countries. As well, we have "international" publications in Intercontinental Press and La Quatrieme Internationale.



Some groups which have recently come upon the campus scene have proposed the concept of building a "worker-student alliance". These mainly Maoist groupings are injecting this concept into various organized student groups and towards the university as a whole.

Before looking at how we should approach this concept we should observe how these groups approach it.

First of all, the Maoist concept of this alliance, as shown in practice, is to mobilize students to support strikes---not all strikes---but certain strikes, in what they see as a method of building an organizational link with the working class movement. In a document of a the worker-student caucus of the Toronto Student Movement they spell out this concept.

They see a number of functions which the students can perform which would benefit the workers. Members should attach themselves to groups of militant workers, should do research on exploitation of workers by particular companies in order to raise the class-consciousness of workers, draw the political implications of workers' struggles for the workers, carry out anti-scab actions such as beefing up small picket lines and forming anti-scab committees, organize non-academic workers on the campus, and hold political education classes for workers.

All of this, they see in building a worker-student alliance. However they fail to indicate at all what role the workers can play in helping the students.

They propose bringing working class ideology to the university. But this should be done, as they see it, by students. Students can 'combat bourgeois ideology in the classroom' by counterposing a Marxist perspective to the professor's, by writing critiques of syllabus, of the basic textbooks, by challenging the professor with pointed questions, performing guerrilla theatre in the classroom, demanding working-class movies and speakers. As well they want to oppose the class role of the university, and expose the agents of class rule on the campus. This sort of program gives something to everyone and logically leads to either the ultra-leftism of disruption of the university or the reformism of course unions and course critiques.

Their practice of students aiding workers have led to support of small strikes, increasing the size of picket lines with students carrying 'anti-imperialist' slogans and acts of confrontation with the police.

Such actions are ultra-leftist, by-passing the major worker formations--the unions, and do not win over the workers to socialist ideas.

In fact, in Italy, such actions have damaged the strikes, for their actions confuse the workers, alienate them and give the police opportunities to attack the strike. As well such action aids the union bureaucracy in clamping down upon militant workers. The committees of workers formed during the strike usually fall apart shortly after the strike for there is no political cohesion to hold them together.



What this concept of a worker-student alliance does, is to allow a few students to feel good in playing the role of worker or organizer. It attracts a few students, and fewer workers into any sort of 'alliance'.

#### PETERBOROUGH ACTIONS

In the winter of 1968-69 the reporters at the Peterborough Examiner went out on strike over wage demands and over the issue of the newspaper guild as their bargaining agent. The Examiner is a Thomson newspaper.

This strike was very small, the union rotten and the odds against the reporters winning the strike by themselves. The craft nature of the newspaper unions, in which one newspaper has many unions based on skills, permitted every function of the paper to perform except that performed by the reporters, for the reporters' picket line was crossed by the other unionised workers.

The reporters could be easily replaced, news taken from the wire services, scab labour hired; and the paper functioned.

Then the students came on the scene. They were the radicals, parts of various SACs and university newspaper staffs. Students flooded the picket line - mainly on weekends and holidays. They injected "political demands" by shouting "revolutionary" slogans such as "two, four, six, eight, organize and smash the state" and singing such songs as "The Red Flag".

The results - the people were alienated by such activities, a boycott of the Examiner was impossible to institute, other unions such as the large U.E. local were not involved because of the students' activities, even the newspaper workers were alienated from the reporters' demands, the paper continued, very few students were mobilized from nearby Trent University, and the strike was lost. The reporters have since returned to work or found other jobs. In fact, the nature of the action was bad for the students, for this strike showed the worse nature of the unions and did not raise the student consciousness.

This concept of a worker-student alliance also has other faults. It pre-supposes, falsely, that students are radicalized (they are radicalizing) and can organize groups of workers outside the unions. It also operates on the theory that the consciousness of workers can be raised by having students appear on picket-lines and that student consciousness can be raised by having them on picket-lines.

#### A REAL WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE

We are in the process of building a real worker-student alliance in the sense that we are recruiting workers and students into a common organization. Our task, as students, is to recruit students to the Vanguard party.

We are bringing onto the campus a working-class ideology - Trotskyism, in theory and in action.



struction of such an alliance in the most concrete of ways. Capitalism can no longer permit the university to be the private preserve of the sons and daughters of the ruling class. It needs more skilled workers and is bringing more and more working class youth onto the universities. The majority of students are pre-proletarians, that is they are trained to become workers and more and more university graduates enter the working class.

Another way we are building the alliance between worker and student, is by building the NDP. The labor party contains the most conscious workers in it, we are trying to get students into the NDP and win it to a socialist program. This is building an alliance on a long term basis, not for one strike, or in some minor committee and also in a political sense.

We are trying to build mass actions and link the demands of workers and students. In our election campaigns on the campus, directed at the students, and in the campaigns of the League directed at workers, there is no difference in demands - the workers and the students have common interests. Such questions as housing and rent, police actions against strikes and other actions of either workers or of students, big business on the campus, inflation, etc.

We try to build mass actions of students to support worker actions, not substitute students for workers. Another concept we have no favour for is that of sending students into unions for short periods of time to try to organize workers. Such actions are doomed to failure. When our comrades are in a union situation they are in it as workers. They have no illusions about the nature of their union work. This is a serious commitment our comrades make.

It is the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes who are building a real worker-student alliance. Students must organize students, build a revolutionary organisation among students, and take concrete steps to stop student scabs, aid organizing attempts on the campuses. Students, by working to transform the university into an institution which serves the working people concretely aid in building the worker-student alliance.



WOMEN'S LIBERATION--a contribution to the discussion

We have all noted, long before this, the whole positive development we have come to know as "women's liberation." In the past period we've seen a growing interest in the concept of women's liberation, a growing awareness of and concern about the oppressed position of women in capitalist society. This goes hand in hand with the growing radicalism we are witnessing around the world. Numerous women's groups have sprung up across Canada and the U.S., widespread magazine and newspaper coverage has been given to the topic, campus newspapers, radio and tv shows are discussing it. Most important for us, of course, are the women's liberation groups on the campuses.

We as socialists (as the political resolution said) of course solidarize ourselves with the most oppressed peoples in capitalist society. Their struggles are part of the struggles for a socialist society. The fight for women's liberation is the fight for a liberated world. We who are in the vanguard of this struggle must develop our present program for women, bringing it to the women who have become conscious of their oppression, joining with them in the common struggle, and leading them forward.

That is why we are participating in the women's groups which have arisen, why we work in the New Feminists and the Women's Liberation Movement here in Toronto. As well it should be stressed that this work is an integral part, not only of our key campus work, but also of the specific thrust of all our political work--to bring people to the revolutionary movement, to recruit people from the areas we are participating in. Our experiences in Toronto lead us to be optimistic about the possibilities in this area. We should not, however, be blind to the character and composition of these groups. By and large they are composed of student women who often get mired in endless discussions about how women must personally liberate themselves from male chauvinism. But we must also remember that the women involved are sincerely attempting to grapple with the problems they face as women, and attempting to find ways of relating to working class women.

Our immediate objective in these groups, which we are now carrying out, is to put ourselves forward as Trotskyists, as known leaders and spokesmen for women's liberation, to try and tie the discussions together, intervening with our transitional program, educating them to the Marxist analysis of women's oppression. Here we can make good use of the research our movement has done in the past, and the experience we have gained through action and discussion. In particular, we can use the Evelyn Reed writings to discuss the nature of the family, the origin of women's oppression, the Matriarchal Society.

We must try and lead these movements into good actions; actions which lead forward, explaining the nature of the groups, attracting other women. We must get these women to engage in actions that are powerful, that aim to wring concessions from the system, and that broaden women's consciousness from where it is at to new ideas, concepts. We must urge the groups to cooperate with other women's groups on actions--to come to terms with problems of working class women through the NDP and the union movement.

To develop this for a minute, Women's Liberation Movement in Toronto is presently moving to set up a day care near the University of Toronto. While this is a commendable action, we must lead it in the direction of a demand on society. It should be explained in the context of freeing women from the home, of placing the responsibility of child-care on society as a whole, and not on the limited means of two parents. It should be posed transitionally, so that people who agree with the action



are taken a step further than demanding one day-care centre, which won't go too far in solving the problem it poses. In this particular case it should be posed to the university, that the university provide child-care facilities for students, faculty and staff.

While many of the student women understand that their liberation is part of the overall struggle for a socialist society, they have difficulty in translating this into a concrete program and action. I'm here thinking of how these groups may have a tendency to become somewhat removed from outside action, turning inward towards forming a "women's community", a sort of rejection of the male world. We have to point out that the struggle is outside the discussion rooms, that freedom can't be achieved in a vacuum.

We have seen a tendency for the more radical-sounding organizations to back away from actions, or to endorse somewhat ultra-left actions. This stems from their fear of appearing reformist, but must be overcome. It is to be hoped that their common oppression and identification as women will overcome, or help to overcome, this sentiment. The problems, especially the fear of being reformist, are the problems we face in the student movement as a whole. Since many of the women in these groups come from the general campus milieu and have been politicized within it, this is almost to be expected. However, there are large numbers of "new" women in these groups. For instance, Women's Liberation Movement in Toronto constantly attracts between 40-60 women to their meetings, with attendance at larger men-women meetings being over 100. And the question is attracting even larger numbers, who haven't as yet approached the existing organizations. It's continuing to snowball across Canada—with beginnings at Simon Fraser University, Windsor, Kingston, Montreal and Ottawa. We must work to bind these women as conscious women, and help them to concentrate on sane women's demands and actions—the validity of the actions which we pose can be explained very clearly, i.e. does the action lead forward, does it relate to the larger question of women in society, is it understandable to large numbers of women who will hear of it?

Another point to be made is that the women's groups are in great demand as speakers. In Toronto they've been invited to address numerous university groups, as well as a CUPE convention and a Liberal party women's meeting. While the women were quite at home addressing students, they didn't handle the CUPE meeting at all well. At the CUPE meeting they spoke about sexual freedom and the abolition of the family, totally alienating the majority of women present. We've got to point out that it's not as though we've got nothing to say to working class women. This sort of debacle should not occur, and can be so easily avoided. Meetings of this nature could help us establish valuable links with women unionists and NDP'ers.

This contribution reflects the problems we have been facing within women's groups in Toronto so far. No doubt other issues will arise. We'll tackle them accordingly. In this way as well, we'll expand our knowledge of the area, and how to intervene in it most effectively.

I think, at this time when the woman question is so much an issue, we should take the opportunity to do some work in our own camp. We've come a long way in the past. We can look to the women leaders within our movement with pride. We've done excellent groundwork with the brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada. But we can, and must, go a long way still. For instance, in the Toronto forum program over the last year, only two women gave forums.

We must make the YS/LJS a model in integrating and developing women leaders. We



should be able to use this, and our specific appeal to women on the basis of our program around the woman struggle, to recruit strong and dynamic women. To these ends, we must develop a consciousness among our women comrades to their responsibility of consistently responding to the challenges the movement puts forward. This has a dual character: that is, the movement must challenge women to accept responsibilities, to accept forums and articles in the press, and the women must take up these responsibilities. The collective weight of all women knowing they must, should be part of the process. We all recognize the importance of developing leadership. If the task is more difficult for women because society has placed them at a disadvantage to begin with, we must redouble the effort. In Toronto we work through a women's fraction, which includes all women, both in the league and in the youth. A commission of four women directs the work. We have taken an important, beginning step in bringing the women together to begin to consider the question. In the future it has been suggested that we hold monthly (approx.) meetings, which report on our external activities and deal with internal problems. We feel it is most important for all comrades to be more than familiar with our past theoretical work.

Also I think we should be very aware of the specially-oppressed women in the high schools. If other people are oppressed, or doubly oppressed, these women are still more oppressed—by society in general, as women, as youth. By and large they have no freedoms. Their lives are still controlled to a large extent by their parents whose control of their money supply, as well as most other things—their friends, their activities, leaves them little or no freedom of action. Within our movement we must be understanding of this situation, pacing our demands to their ability to respond.

These women are in a trying transitional stage. This is the time when they are being pressed into the woman mould, when they are being trained to accept typing majors and the husband-pursuit as their life-long fulfillment. It's a special problem time for these women, and one which warrants more investigation on our part. Perhaps a high schooler's own impression of this in a coming YSF could be an excellent beginning.

To round out this contribution to the discussion, I want to stress the importance of the YS/LJS carrying out independent actions and work around women's liberation. This is valid both in areas where women's groups exist or may be set up, and where they do not exist. For instance, we have come to the conclusion in Toronto that we must in the near future hold our own action—the issue, as we've intimated, is very much in the air. If the groups will not now be moved to action, and we feel that an action would be immediately useful, we should go ahead. As well, if we feel we could set up a women's group, that women in an area would respond, again, if we feel we can carry it, we should take the initiative. Our perspective in Toronto is to recruit women from the existing groups. The groups are not hardened into opposing political tendencies. We must continue and widen personal contact work in these groups—bringing the women wherever possible to our forums, meetings, etc. We can further this end right now by carrying an independent action—with them in a united action, but if this is not possible, we should carry our own. This will effectively show them the possibilities of an action, and hopefully will attract those women who are "itching" for action while the groups hold back.

While this is a Toronto report it is our feeling that the ideas presented here are equally valid across the country. We are aware that groups are springing up all over. It is hoped that non-Toronto comrades will take up the struggle in their areas learning from our experiences, and that the women's panel at the convention will give us all a more rounded view of the possibilities.

submitted by Joan Camp na



This contribution is concerned only with the high school aspects of the political resolution.

The influx of high school students into the YS/LJS has changed the operating conditions for our intervention in the high school movement. Previously the factors of objective conditions, (level of consciousness) the lack of high school students in the YS/LJS and the crises of leadership in the high school movement and in our high school comrades were the dominating factors which dictated certain organizational forms and tactical approaches to the question of high school organizing. The pattern that was used in the past was the city-wide committee whether it was on the question of Vietnam or on some student rights' struggle. This organizational form was suitable for the conditions that used to exist when there were an insufficient number of radicals within a smaller unit to sustain a viable and long term organization and there were not enough high school comrades to allocate to anything but building one or so organization. In order to bring to the YS/LJS the best students that did become involved in radical politics at that time, our concentration of forces into a single viable committee based on the predominant radicalizing force, Vietnam, proved to gain those best elements in the high school movement that are now comrades.

Now, due to the very quick development of the general level of radicalization, (recall the large spontaneous walk-out in Ontario high schools) the opportunities have opened up to broaden the organized high school movement. The discussion of the high school movement is a very important one. Although the questions of theory in the student movement is debated, evolved and formulated within the university milieu first, (which does not mean at all that activist high school comrades should not participate in the discussions of theory) there is a special role that the high schools also play that make it as significant an area of work. The high schools contain all of the population and not just an isolated layer. The high schools contain the young workers of the next few years.

Because of the nature or organization of the high schools that is their scattered and small unit nature the special problem of organizing the high school is compounded. The difference in high school organizing is the tremendous alienation and the difficulty of high school students to consistently commit themselves to long term goals, together with the need for the YS/LJS to recognize this situation and to develop an attitude which can establish the best possible working relationship between the high school students and other members of the leadership as well as the other members. In line with this opinion the most serious example is the way in which high school movement is treated in the political resolution, where only two paragraphs are explicitly devoted to the high schools.

Two new aspects have been developed in our high school work in the past period; the use of a strictly high school paper and the action committee type of organization that is designed for the individual school. The high school paper has a very large potential when one looks at the movement that has developed in the U. S.



around the high school alternative press there, where the New York paper has a circulation of 10,000. A high school paper will become the political expression of the organized high school students. The concept behind a student paper in the high schools is very similar to the concept of a high school action committee. Such a committee would be a multi-issue, non-exclusionary organization which is suitable for purposes of education as well as leadership in the high schools. Recognizing that the prospect for YS/LJS clubs on the high schools is not possible because of consciousness and the repressive nature of the schools, the action committee becomes the only logical alternative whereby in the process of the development of the students involved in such a committee our comrades will be able to demonstrate their political maturity, become the leadership of such loose formations and help to develop them towards the direction of the YS/LJS. This organizational form is not an "ad hoc student rights committee" but a viable organization which can win the support of as broad a segment of the student body as possible to a developing program of Marxism under our leadership. We should not only seek to intervene through such organizations when they do develop without us but we should seek to initiate them ourselves. It should also be understood that such committees in no way contrast to the city-wide type organization but complement it and turn it into a movement and not a group of students. Through such committees the high school movement can be organized in order to overcome the spontaneous character of the high school struggles up to now.



## THE SECTORS OF INTERVENTION IN THE COMING PERIOD

We have tried to synthesize in the final section of the draft "At Which Stage Have We Arrived" a view of the totality of the views tasks of the LJS in the principal sectors of intervention with respect to the student movement and milieu. This has resulted in excessively concise formulae. We therefore present this complementary text on the most important field of intervention. In other words this text is indissociable from the principal text on the necessary change in the tasks and perspectives of the LJS with regards to the post-October student movement.

Moreover, our principal submission has been written in the total absence of majority documents. Presently (Sept. 29, 1969) we have received the English version of the Political Resolution and the Anti-war Resolution. Given the absence of the Quebec Resolution and the late arrival of the other documents we probably won't have the time to write an exhaustive critique of the positions of the majority of the Executive Council. In this situation, it is necessary for us to explain why we refuse to follow the form of the majority documents.

The Political Resolution attempts to analyze the milieu, the perspective of the student movement, the revolutionary Marxist strategy and tactics in the fields of intervention in a dozen or so pages. It does the job, but at the cost of crude generalities which explain almost nothing, and at the price of a tactical incoherence which treats each sector as being independent of the other sectors of intervention.

In particular, the national question in Quebec merits three paragraphs, as if one sector among others, and does not enter into the reckoning when they discuss the anti-war movement or the MSP. When one scratches the surface of any question in Quebec, one finds the national question. Certainly when one scratches the surface of the national question, one finds the class struggle but this is conditional and especially expressed with relation to the national question.

For us, it is the duty of the LJS/YS x to analyze these sectors, to discover others, to utilize as best we can the complementary relationship of the sectors of intervention to give the maximum leverage to our penetration in the student milieu and to our taking of the leadership of the student movement. In the next period, the language question will be the unifying thread.

Of all the student struggles, in addition to the junction point, at least partially, with the labour movement. The work of formation of cadres and programs and if the JS's and the ensemble of the LJS will no longer take place in function of an education circle but in function of the necessity to acquire a political autonomy. The construction and change of the LJS are dialectically related to its capacity to link all of the sectors of intervention in proof that its program and revolutionary marxist theory pay in action, now.

## I The Language Question, the LIS and the PSQ

Since the beginning of the sixties, we have seen in Quebec a new resurgence of petty bourgeois nationalism. Until quite recently it wasn't the workers who fought for self-determination of Quebec, but the petty bourgeoisie which saw for itself some material interest in an "independent Quebec". This explains the fact that the struggle was lead up to now, not for a socialist and, therefore, independent Quebec, but for an "independent" Quebec.

If we have applied the formula "until recently", it's that since '68 the situation has changed seriously. The national petty bourgeois still continues its struggle for "independence", while a large layer of workers is being sensitized to the national question by the events, sometimes tragic, of their daily lives. "Tragic" is not too strong for certain cases; just remember the events of Matagami, and geographically close to us, St Leonard. These are only two examples which, furthermore repeat themselves daily in different degrees.



St Leonard, a typical case if you will, has crystallized the struggle on the language question, a very precise point of the national question. It was at St. Leonard where the MIS, which later became the LIS, was founded, an "apolitical" movement which leads the struggle for unilingual schools for all. The LIS received at its beginning and receives more and more a very wide support of the people of St. Leonard (in majority workers) but equally of all the province.

At Montreal, where the unilingualism movement is very strong, the LIS receives a very militant support on the part of students. The secondary (high school) and post-secondary students are strongly aware of the language question and this applies equally to the students in the province who have to face the same problem, that of classes where the books are in English. When one doesn't read or scarcely reads English, this presents serious problems.

The LIS defines itself as a single-issue movement, not having any global political aims. An important fact in the reckoning of the LIS, is that not only was it born in a grasping up of consciousness on the part of a certain group of "colonials" but that it knew how to bring onto the streets thousands of people, even when they knew they had to confront a large number of cops- McGill Francais, September 10, etc. Why can't we neglect the LIS as a sector of work and intervention? The LIS leads the struggle around the language question. The unilingualism militants and those who sympathize with the struggle become aware quickly that the struggle emerges on the political and economic level. Thus the militants naturally ask themselves the question: is it that the causes of the problem come from a bad political leadership, or really, is it much more profound-- couldn't it be those same social structures which are at the roots?

A certain number of people and, what's interesting, the central council of the CNTU, are engaged more and more around the language question, because they are becoming aware that the radicalization of the workers and students goes by that route. Many militants struggle for a French Quebec, but aren't yet struggling for a socialist Quebec.

A French Quebec necessarily implies a socialist Quebec, and the revolutionary-Marxists have to politicize the militants of the language movement (for the most part independentistes) in demonstrating to them that the solution proposed by the bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeoisie is only a semblance of a solution, only a mirage. This is demonstrated not only by the aid of analyses and theoretical explanations on the danger of class collaboration, the falsity of the principle of revolution by steps, but in confronting in action the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie leaderships.

In action, those leaderships never approach the "radicalism" of their words. It is in action that one can demonstrate the collusion which exists between the national bourgeoisie and grand imperialist capital, between national oppression and capitalism. One example of this was the denunciation by Levesque and company of Operation McGill Francais in invoking the right of "choice for the anglophone minority", in saying that it is not "democratic" to demand one's rights in taking to the streets. It was the same several months earlier when the high school students demonstrated in front of Parliament, denouncing bill 85 (the language bill).

In physics, one says that when one has understood a problem and has set down the steps in which it must be solved, the problem is already half solved. The problem is to radicalize the workers and youth, the latter sector being within the jurisdiction of the intervention of the LIS/YS. In our principal document one finds the analysis which permits one to see where the Quebecois student movement is situated politically and geographically. The high level of militancy of this movement indicates that one will involve and mobilize them in action in particular around the language question. We propose for the reasons explained above to form LIS committees of action on the french speaking campuses where the physical possibility presents itself.



In the immediate future there will be one at U of Montreal, and probably several months from now in several CEGEP's where we have some comrades. These action oriented LIS clubs will be single issue, that is to say will lead actions on everything which touches the language question. The possibilities of action are numerous -- the defence of the LIS attacked by means of actions brought against its two principal chiefs, Lemieux and Gravel, actions around the project of law Page which will be presented in the month of November, etc.

It is necessary to organize such CALISs, to work in them seriously, to take responsibility and to carry out consistent contact work. There is nothing which impedes this work as open members of the LJS. In fact this work will permit us to develop our JS sections and consequently the entire LJS. Moreover, the militant work on the campus will make the LJS known as being composed of revolutionary marxist militants and not merely "left-wing intellectuals"

Edited by Gilbert R.

## II Vietnam and Quebec

We must clearly recognize it; in Quebec the Vietnam war has not been THE radicalizing factor of the youth. One must not be content to deplore the relative lack of success of the demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and reaffirm the necessity to construct a movement against the war. It is necessary for us to analyze the goals we wish to pursue by means of such a movement, to see if, in Quebec these goals can be attained, and if yes, in what manner.

The first task of the anti-war movement is the defence of the Vietnamese revolution, a defence which takes place concretely on two levels, dialectically linked, a) national pressure (struggles against Canadian and Quebec complicity) and b) the development of an intervention movement of international solidarity necessary to the Vietnamese people and to the American anti-war movement which can exert "pressure" more directly on American imperialism (GI's etc). Now this defence is only really effective if it is expressed by mass actions. This brings forward the necessity to have a mass movement mobilized around the Vietnamese question.

The second role of the anti-war movement is thus to lead to a more conscious radicalization of the growing number of youth who revolt from "humanitarian" motives against the Vietnam war, and this in leading them in mass actions. Now why did the demonstration called by UGEQ for November 17/67 have 1500 in Montreal and from 500 - 1000 outside Montreal (and not 5000), while there were only ~~300-500~~ 300-350 at April 6/69. This was not because of a lack of publicity, nor is it because the Quebecois youth are not sensitive to the Vietnamese revolution ... a number of movements have given their moral but not active support ... It is that there already exists a mass student movement in Quebec, but that, like McGill Francais, June 24, St Leonard, proves it is radicalized and mobilized by the national question, more precisely by the language question. Between November '67 and April '69 there was October with its occupations and the demonstration McGill Francais, March 28/69.

On the other hand the defence of the Vietnamese revolution flows from the understanding of the exemplary value of the struggle of the Vietnamese people and the decisive importance for the world revolution of a victory over the enormous imperialist power. Therefore, it is a question of developing the internationalist consciousness of the Quebecois militants. Now at present this consciousness is, in the best of cases, limited to the assimilation of the Vietnamese question to the national question. To those who preach ~~lack~~ the direct defence of the Vietnamese revolution many student militants reply: "Our Vietnam is here".



It is this necessary to conciliate a very real fact, the existence of a mass movement mobilized around the language question and the necessity to defend the Vietnamese revolution. Intellectually, this link is generally made, but at a purely abstract level -- beautiful words are worthless if they don't lead to action. The Quebecois students who support the Vietnamese revolution remain singularly concentrated on their own national struggle.

The resolution of this problem will not come about by an attempt to convince them of the necessity of any anti-war movement, a mass movement already mobilized around another question. The link up can only be made in practice. Why haven't the LJS and the LSO, already known for their positions on the Vietnam war, convinced large numbers to come to demonstrations? For two principal reasons a) The Vietnam question is considered as a gadget of the Trotskyists and b) this gadget seems so theoretical, the demonstrations so symbolic, that they don't attract the militants of the language movement.

The LJS must conquer the hostility towards it, accused of sectarianism, accused of wanting to defend a foreign revolution but not being ready to fight for the Quebec revolution. To do it the task is "to be in the first ranks of the struggles taking place, whatever limits they might have." (The radicalization of the World Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International, July 1969, pp 50). The task is to fully struggle on the language question, to politicize by and in action with the aim of taking the leadership. As long as the LJS remains a witness carrying good explanations and beautiful messages, as long as it isn't even in the defence guards of the big demonstrations on the language question, as long as it doesn't take "risks" the student militants won't listen to it on the anti-war question. But if the LJS places itself totally in actions of the student movement, if it participates in demonstrations without fearing their violence, it can control these demonstrations, make heard and accepted its positions. It is in being the best militants on the language question that the militants of the LJS will become the best militants on the Vietnamese question.

The mass student movement, seeing that the LJS fights with it, will be ready to understand the link up between its conduct on the demonstrations and its political line on the language question, and the link up between its line on the national question and the Vietnam question. It will be ready to listen and to admit, losing its prejudices towards the LJS, that the success of the Quebec revolution, and that of the world revolution, depends on the success of the Vietnam revolution; it will be ready to say that if "Our Vietnam is here", Quebec is in Vietnam. This does not signify that the LJS must wait until it has taken the lead of the mass student movement to engage in actions against the Vietnam war, but that the tasks are different than those of the revolutionary marxists of English Canada where it is Vietnam which has touched and radicalized the youth. In Quebec this mass movement already exists around the language question; it is not a matter of creating another mass movement, but to politicize the existing movement, to have it take up revolutionary positions on the Vietnam question. The tasks are different and there is nothing more evident than that the organizational forms will also be different; on the one hand the CALIS will permit the LJS militants, in working in a practical manner on a question very concrete and actively felt by the majority of the students, to enter in active contact with the militants ready to collaborate in working on the Vietnam question; on the otherhand the LJS sections are an appropriate form for direct propaganda work on Vietnam. They will furnish the nucleus of distribution of the propaganda for the mobilization committees which take form when a united demonstration against the war is planned.

Finally, to assure the success of the demonstrations, it is necessary to change the preparation and even the character of the action. What is the impact of



a demonstration of 350 (April 6/69) which leaves from point X to reach another point Y, which obeys to the letter the interdictions of the police (forbidden to stop at reviewed locations, forbidden to march in the street etc.) Such a demonstration has no international repercussions, hardly constitutes a defence of the Vietnamese revolution, doesn't get any publicity. The moral duty is accomplished, but a goodly number of demonstrators retain a certain disgust in not have followed the program and the unwinding previews for the march.

As long as the demonstrations against the war are not mass actions, and in order that they become, it will be necessary to exercise an attraction on this mass movement already mobilized on another question. We foresee principally three methods to get there.

1. Implicate a larger number of militants in the preparation of the demonstration; not only the members of the LJS but also the members of other movements and non-affiliated radicals. This is not possible except if the individuals are motivated not only by their moral support, but if one proposes (we propose) to them or if they themselves envisage new forms of action. Ex. the preparation of effigies of Trudeau and of Nixon by the students of Beaux Arts.
2. A provocative publicity. "Trudeau and Nixon burnt publicly November 15 ... in effigy", which illustrate moreover the slogan "End Canadian Complicity"; McGregor Street rebaptized Boulevard Ho Chi Minh ... Such actions by their new form, permit, in sparking the imagination of the students, to attract them to the preparation of demonstrations, and at their accomplishment, moreover, the publicity which will necessarily be done, will attract a larger number of participants to future demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.
3. Finally, while completely maintaining the basic slogan of the international anti-war movement: "Withdraw U.S. Troops" and the slogan "End Canadian and Quebec Complicity", other slogans can make the link up which has been missing up to now between the mobilized mass movement on the national question and the defence of the Vietnamese revolution. Vietnam being the decisive test of strength of American imperialism against the colonial revolution and the whole workers movement, slogans of the type "Vietnam libre, Quebec libre ..." improve the rapprochement between the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people and the Quebecois people and the interdependence of the struggle fronts.

edited by Marie-Christine D.



Some Comments on the First Year of the Y.S. Clubs

-Dave P.

The most important change in the direction of the movement's work made by the last convention was the decision to launch open YS clubs. Though the direction for these clubs appeared to be fairly clear at the convention, it became obvious in the process of setting them up that we had little understanding of their purpose, the role they could play on the campuses, how comrades should operate in them, what we should ask of the people who want to join the clubs and what their relationship should be to other political tendencies and organizations on the campuses, particularly the SDU type formations. During the year we learned a great deal through a series of successful and not so successful experiences and experiments. This convention must analyse the year's accomplishments carefully in order that we may derive the greatest possible gains for the clubs and avoid some of the necessary experimental errors of our first try in this new direction. Because of the public character of the CEC resolutions, they could not deal with this question in a detailed way, making it all the more important that other comrades give it serious thought.

Our expectations were extremely high when we hit the campuses last Sept. Our accomplishments, though impressive, fell somewhat short of what we had hoped for, particularly in terms of recruitment from the campuses. Although the YS played leading roles in some important campus struggles, we have not yet been able to take the leadership of these struggles either on our own or as the dominant tendency in some sort of united front. Our leadership has been primarily ideological rather than ideological and practical. On every campus where there were comrades and many where there were not, we carried out an impressive series of activities -- educational meetings, cross-country tours, literature sales (YSP easily surpassed all other radical publications) etc. We organized a very successful country-wide Socialist Student Conference, the largest such conference held by any tendency throughout the campus year. Particularly important was the contribution toward building the Anti-War movement made by the campus section of the YS/LJS including the YS Club structure.

Overall, the accomplishments of our university work carried out in large part through the YS Clubs can be summed up in one sentence -- we made the YS/LJS and Trotskyism a serious and important force in the Canadian student movement. Where we fell short of our expectations it was not the result of incorrect theory strategy or tactics. We suffered instead from inexperience, timidity, lack of imagination and a tendency towards conservatism.

The general direction for the YS on the campuses is correctly and succinctly explained in the political resolution, specifically in the last three paragraphs on page three. We want to build a Vanguard Youth Organization, the YS/LJS. We project the need for political leadership on the basis of our program by participating in the day to day struggles on the campus. We participate in looser formations where possible (such as a functioning SDU), at the same time challenging these organizations and other tendencies to work with us on a united front basis. We carry out an impressive program of independent activities at the same time. We oppose ultra-left stunts and Stalinist strong-arm tactics and understand the necessity of mass, democratic decision-



making. I think it was because of our understanding of the importance of youth radicalization, and of the general direction of building a democratic-centralist vanguard youth organization, in combination with the need to solve the above problems that we decided to launch open YS Clubs. It is the best way of involving students who do not feel ready to join the YS/LJS itself, in deciding and carrying out our campus activities, and of convincing them of the necessity of YS/LJS membership in the course of the struggles and activities.. One thing at least should be clear by now. There is no campus in the country where it is not possible, desirable and in fact necessary to establish a YS Club as the main vehicle of our campus work.

The first issue that arose last fall in relation to the Clubs was what should their program be? More specifically, what should we ask of people who want to join the Club? At the Edmonton Local Conference last Sept. three positions were put forward. The first would have prospective YS Club members support a whole series of things including the Cuban Revolution, the Anti-War movement, Quebec's right to self-determination, Student Power struggles, the Czechoslovak struggle for Socialist Democracy, the NDP, etc. The second position held that some sort of "if you support the following" list was necessary, but that the first one was too long. The third position in my view was correct.

We want to involve as many people as possible in the activities and day-to-day functioning of the Club so that we can educate them in the process of the struggle. We are not concentrating our efforts only on the present student radicals who have thought out their opinion on the many important issues in the newly radicalizing students who are just developing an interest in radical student politics and are shopping around for political ideas and students who have just become involved in some particular issue who may not even have developed a general sympathy for radical student politics. A whole series of measures exist and will continue to exist which ensure that our program will be effectively presented. YS/LJS members are the main leaders and spokesmen for the Clubs. We sell a wide selection of literature regularly on the campuses. YSF presents the main aspects of our program and tactics on a continuing basis. There is usually a YS Local in the city whose activities will further clarify the nature of the campus club bearing the same name. For these reasons there is no justification for the least bit of conservatism in terms of restrictions on YS Club membership. We should invite every student who is a socialist, thinks he is a socialist or is interested in socialism to join the club. No screening is necessary - except that we obviously want to exclude political opponents. Anybody else who wants to join the club should be signed up on the spot. People who don't ask should be asked by us.

There are several interrelated problems which hampered our ability to use the U of A YS Club as effectively as we might have and which seem to have existed to various degrees right across the country. These can be summed up as general lack of understanding of what to do once the Club was set up.

Remember those first few meetings of the Club? Pure Hell!! Some kind of proposal for a list of activities had to be made. What should it include? After some rather long campus fraction meetings, executive meetings and local meetings something of a plan developed - educationals, lit. tables, YSF sales, a public meeting or two. How to get it through the Club. You have to be sensitive; you have to involve non--conrades in the discussion; can't make it look like you're



shoving something down their throats; what happens if someone else makes a proposal? Above all, DON'T LOSE A VOTE. The meeting turns out to be a re-run of the previous campus fraction meeting, executive meeting and local meeting. SUCCESS! Unfortunately many of the YS Club members don't see it that way and you never see them again.

The first thing we learned from this I think is that you can't keep students interested in a club that plods along with the same routine activities week-in, week-out. Educational work, literature and YSF sales and other day-to-day tasks must certainly be carried out with increasing regularity and efficiency. But it is possible with a little imagination to make these things exciting and dynamic. Secondly, we don't want to professionalize our functioning for the sake of professionalization. We want a movement that functions smoothly and efficiently so that we are capable of taking on new dynamic actions and so that we can move into an important situation on the moment it arises and take full advantage of it without it causing a crisis in our day-to-day work.

The fear of not having our position adopted by the club is absurd. We have capable comrades who can explain our positions and program in the Clubs. Completely idiotic suggestions from other club members are unusual occurrences; people who join the YS Club usually do so because they have seen something of our program and the way we operate and think we have something to offer; YS Club members are the best of the student radicals on the campus and should be encouraged to put forward their own ideas and suggestions. Even if we do lose the occasional vote--so what! It's not going to cause the collapse of the whole movement. All it indicates is that we have not done a very good job of explaining our position. By and large the positions we take on various campus issues should be worked out within the YS Club itself. Only in exceptional circumstances are campus fraction meetings at all necessary. At the recent Ottawa Local Conference, where the Local wanted to use the conference as a step in building up our presently small forces, not only did we invite every member of the YS Club and every person on its mailing list, but we opened up the vote on the various reports to everyone who attended.

The most important aspect of our work in the YS Clubs is recruitment from them to the cross-country movement. This is also the area which requires the most discussion in view of our limited success last year. Some of the questions which come to mind in this regard are: How should the relation between the Club and the Local be explained? How can the Local and the rest of the movement be made more relevant to a YS Club member on an individual campus so that he will understand the importance of joining? How can YS Club members be involved in other areas of activity of the whole YS/LJS?

The easiest way of explaining the relation between the Club and the Local is also the best. You explain what the YS/LJS is -- a cross-country, democratic centralist revolutionary youth movement, its view of the necessity of working class revolution as the prerequisite for the building of a Socialist Canada and how this can be accomplished; its connection with the LSA/LSO, its international perspective etc. The YS Clubs are simply groups on individual



campuses affiliated to the cross-country movement in much the same way as the campus NDY Clubs, for example are affiliated to the Federal NDY. The advantages and the necessity of membership in the YS/LJS flow logically.

Of course the best way of convincing YS Club members that this conclusion is in fact logical is through continuous well-planned educational work and constant demonstration of our movements political superiority by our participation in campus struggles. There are many additional ways of helping the process along, however.

- 1) The problem of getting the YS Club members to the local is just as much a problem of getting the Local to the YS Club. Off-campus YS/LJS'ers should attempt to get to the campus as often as possible to help carry out YS Club activities such as literature tables, YSF sales and public meetings, to participate in campus issues and struggles and simply to get to know the people in the club. The movement doesn't seem very real if the only comrades they come in contact with are campus comrades.
- 2) YS Club members should be kept regularly informed of everything the movement is doing off-campus and we should make every attempt to involve them in these activities. The Anti-War Movement is the most obvious example of this. Another, which is proving particularly successful in Ottawa this fall is the Women's Liberation Group.
- 3) We must make the cross-country campaigns of the movement YS Club campaigns as well. The tours have done this very well in the past year. This Convention is being used quite effectively in this way. We should extend it to include such things as Sub-Drives and Fund-Drives by making part of each Local's quota the responsibility of the YS Club.
- 4) Inviting the best contacts in the YS Club to Local meetings as a means of giving them the opportunity to see first-hand how the movement functions should be a regular practice.
- 5) YSF should be geared to more effective use by the YS Clubs. For example, instead of running a small article on page 3 entitled, Young Socialists Run in Elections, it would have been much more valuable to have an impressive front page devoted to the topic with a head like VOYE YOUNG SOCIALIST ON YOUR CAMPUS.

This contribution is only a meagre beginning to the discussion of what we learned from the first year of the YS CLUBS. I hope the Convention will see reports and ideas from every local so that we can leave with a much clearer idea of the role the clubs can play in helping us to win the leadership of the Canadian student movement.



1970?

## CONTRIBUTION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION ON THE YOUTH RADICALIZATION

This document outlines how the experiences of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes validates the conclusion and analysis of the document, "The International Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International" presented at the last world congress.

### 1. The Youth Radicalization in Canada

Although the process of the "university explosion" is not nearly so advanced in Canada as in the U.S., for example, it has greatly affected the composition of the educational institutions. The number of universities has doubled, and the student population has rapidly expanded. The universities are becoming transformed from institutions primarily for the training of the professional elite to mass institutions for the training of new layers of a proletarian character.

A broad layer of students in English Canada have been affected by the radicalization, but the large majority have yet to be mobilized. In relation to Europe and even to the U.S., the proportion of students constantly active in left politics is small, and there have been no mass mobilizations on the scale of the American and French Mays. There is a growing interest in socialist ideas across the country. The antiwar movement has been the largest single mobilizer of students in English Canada, but they have been a minority of the student population.

The radicalization first manifested itself in Canada in the early sixties around the ban-the-bomb movement, solidarity with the Cuban revolution, the civil rights movement, and the local issues related to university conditions. 1965 saw the emergence of the anti-Vietnam movement, which by 1967 was capable of mobilizing thousands across Canada. The first big student struggles arose in 1968 particularly at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, where a sit-in resulted in the arrest of more than 100 students. Such struggles have continued to occur sporadically in the last two years.

In Quebec, however, there have been mobilizations that have involved the overwhelming majority of students.

### 2. The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes

No tendency has political hegemony in the youth milieu at this time. The YS/LJS, although it is not yet able to take the leadership of student struggles as a whole, has had significant influence in all the mass struggles. YS/LJS members are an essential part of the leadership of the antiwar and women's liberation movements. The YS/LJS is numerically larger and has greater geographical extension than any other youth tendency. Because of the correct political program of the YS/LJS, and the political weakness of our opponents, we are in a good position to move towards the leadership of the student movement as it develops.



Despite the weakness of our opponents, the objective conditions for reformism and ultra-leftism remain. The Young Communist League (Moscow) is at this time virtually non-existent. The different Maoist sects have experienced some growth, but their ultra-leftism has isolated them from the vast majority of students.

Soon after the founding of the Young Socialists in 1960, it dissolved its public face and entered into the New Democratic Youth (NDY), the youth movement of the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party, to build its left wing and to consolidate out of it a revolutionary youth cadre. At this time, in the NDP was in its formative stages and the NDY was attracting large numbers of youth. The LSA continued its public functioning. In key areas of the country, Ontario and British Columbia, the Young Socialists provided the main leadership forces of the NDY. The YS recruited its first substantial forces out of the NDY and trained them in its internal struggles. There were repeated expulsions of our comrades which we met with public defense campaigns through which we were able to reconstitute our fraction in the NDY. During this process the YS launched a Trotskyist youth newspaper and through it expanded its open activities. In 1966-67, as the youth radicalization began to move past the NDY which was paralyzed by the right-wing NDP-NDY leadership, we withdrew from it and launched an independent Trotskyist youth organization which, from the point of view of intervening in the struggles has replaced the NDY in the youth arena. At the same time the YS carries our orientation to support the NDP propagandistically without doing any fraction work in the NDP. It is able to operate in many ways as the pro-NDP student organization

The "New Left" is in a state of sidarray across Canada, with no stable organization. Our orientation clarified by a dispute in 1968, when a tendency appeared that reflected the pressure of the new left milieu in our ranks. Essentially its perspective was that of dissolving the YS/LJS as a democratic centralist Trotskyist organization and entering the amorphous new left formations that had appeared on many of the campuses, with a view to building a single united radical organization of a centrist character. The YS/LJS leadership replied that our main priority had to be the building of the Trotskyist movement and none other. Amorphous formations without a clear program and with different political tendencies within them are unable to give leadership, and tend to split apart under the pressure of events. This assertion was subsequently verified by the recent split in the centrist Committee for a Socialist Movement in Saskatoon, Sask., the leadership of which joined the YS/LJS. The present dissolution of new left formations across the country also indicates the correctness of our position at that time.

The YS/LJS is a democratic centralist, revolutionary socialist youth organization which works in close political collaboration with the League for Socialist Action, which is in solidarity with the Fourth International. While the YS/LJS is organizationally independent of the LSA, many of its leading members are also members of the LSA, and under its discipline. The LSA recruits aggressively from the ranks of the youth movement. Differences between the two organizations are worked out through fraternal consultation, in the context of the common movement



Our experience in building the YS/LJS has confirmed the validity of such a youth organization in helping to build the cadres for the socialist revolution. The majority of LSA branches have been established by cadres from the youth, and the bulk of LSA leadership have received their training in the youth movement. The young people we recruit into the YS/LJS, generally have had some political experience, and have accepted our basic program and organizational principles. Experiences in leading the YS/LJS combined with a vigorous educational program, helps to develop the future cadre for the movement. The youth organization enables us to present Trotskyism to youth in an attractive light. In the YS/LJS, youth are able to go through an experience with revolutionary politics -- to decide whether they want to commit themselves to building the revolutionary vanguard party.

The YS/LJS is a student organization oriented to the campuses and high schools, and not primarily to young workers. It is in the schools where the radicalization is developing more quickly at this time, and the radicalization of students can have a powerful impact on other oppressed sectors of society, "particularly workers." The radicalizing young workers fall into two categories: those who are only working temporarily, who plan to go back to school and are part of the student milieu; and those who are settled into their jobs. The former tend to be student oriented while the latter are more oriented to working class politics. It is clear that the base and area of activity for the YS/LJS is the student milieu, while the LSA recruits and integrates young workers.

### 3. Our Intervention

The YS/LJS has had an orientation to students from its inception, long before big student struggles broke out in Canada. This orientation has been reflected in our press from the beginning. We projected that the coming crises of imperialism would contribute to a deepening radicalization of youth. "It is realistic to project that larger elements of the youth will become (and are already in the process of becoming) more open to socialist ideas." (1965 Convention, Political Resolution). We projected the possibility of rapid changes in the consciousness of Canadian students.

With the qualitative changes in the character of the universities in the 1960's, we quickly saw that students are a social layer could be won to the fight against capitalism. Our 1967 convention oriented the YS/LJS completely into the student movement, integrating ourselves into it and fighting for its leadership. We attempted to link student issues with broader social questions such as the war in Vietnam and capitalist control of the university. The demand for student-faculty-campus worker control of the university is transitional in that it seeks to wrest the control of this important institution from the hands of the bourgeoisie. This concept was crystalized through our own experiences, and those of our movement internationally in the strategy of the red university, adopted by the YS/LJS convention in 1969.



#### 4. Quebec

In Quebec, the youth revolt is intensified by and revolves around national oppression. The radicalized layer is much wider than in English Canada because of the elementary reaction to national oppression. At the same time, they do not yet understand the need for a working class political party and the links between their own struggle and international struggles.

The largest student mobilizations that have taken place in Canada were the October upsurges of 1968 and 1969 in Quebec. "The 1968 struggles was over the general crisis of education in Quebec where there had been a vast new influx of students into institutions called CEGEPs - intermediary between the high schools and the universities. But there were few jobs for graduates, and no room in the universities. This crisis was a reflection of more general outrage against the depressed conditions of the Quebec economy, dominated by English Canadian and American capitalism. In October 1968, more than 50,000 students in Quebec occupied their junior colleges and universities to demand better educational facilities and job opportunities. They turned their schools into organizing centers and appealed for labor support.

The following spring, a huge demonstration was organized for "McGill Francais". McGill University, a symbol of oppression of the Quebecois, is an opulent English-speaking institution in the heart of Montreal, which has the largest collection of French language books in Quebec -- inaccessible to the Quebecois majority. The demonstration demanded that McGill should become a French language university, serving the needs of the people of Quebec.

In October 1969, there were daily demonstrations of 10,000 to 20,000 for a week, culminating in a demonstration of 40,000, in opposition to the Quebec government's intention to institutionalize English language schools in Quebec. The schools ceased to function normally, and many mass meetings were held. Demonstrations demanded a French-language school system in the face of the threat to the French language and culture posed by the domination of English as the language of business in Quebec.

Definite links were made with the working class. The trade union organizations supported the demonstrations and many young workers participated in the actions, which, however, subsided in the absence of a full mobilization of the working class. These actions showed us the possibilities the strategy for the red university gives us in practice. In some cases, educational institutions were taken over by the students to serve their struggles and those of the working class. It also showed the powerful catalytic role that the students can play as a social force when they are mobilized behind a demand, and how they can spur the working class into action, even while they cannot substitute for the workers.

A minority of our comrades in Quebec put forward differing views on our orientation to the student milieu at the 1969 convention. The main thrust of the minority position was rejected, but the specific features of the Quebec student movement continue to be open to discussion. The minority asserted that the student milieu is too heterogeneous for students to be said to have common anti-capitalist interests. They rejected the strategy of the red university which applies the concept of the transitional program to the student milieu. In their



major document to the 1969 convention, the minority stated: "Thus it's not astonishing that practically no single major student struggle in the world has been triggered around what are, strictly speaking, student problems despite the agitational value of these transitional demands. Rather they have all been sparked by spectacular actions of small groups around political problems."

The minority considered that a change in style, to the "new language" of the youth radicalization, was the key to our becoming the leadership of the student movement. The new language was to include: "quasi-insurrectional demonstrations, the will to destroy the myth of the invulnerability of cops, of collective 'relief of frustrations', of forests of red flags, of chants, barricades..."

The October 1969 upsurge showed the error in the position of the minority. As the leadership of the Montreal local, they integrated themselves into the organisational leadership of the upsurge, constituting an important part of the marshalling group, but they did not attempt to give political leadership or raise the banner of Trotskyism with the result that there was no growth in our forces and in fact a certain decline.

## 5. Women's Liberation

The fastest growing movement in Canada is the women's liberation movement. From its beginning little more than a year ago, our movement has understood the potential of this movement to mobilize and to draw into radical politics massive numbers of women. Our comrades are well integrated in this movement, in many cases, in its leadership. There are women's liberation groups on most campuses in all the major cities and in some high schools. At the University of Toronto in April 1970, students, faculty and support staff demanded that the university ensure the maintenance of the existing day-care center. The administration's refusal resulted in a two-day occupation of the administration building. The authorities were forced to capitulate to the demands.

Our movement is developing other demands for the campus around women's liberation besides the demand for free day-care for all members of the university, controlled by the "parents; for women's studies departments to tell the truth about women's history and would work for an end to this oppression; for an end to streaming of young women into dead-end commercial and non-scientific courses; special assistance



and preferential admissions to overcome psychological and social barriers that women face.

## 6. Antiwar

The anti-Vietnam war movement has played an essential role in developing an internationalist perspective among students. Students have been the backbone of the antiwar movement and have been the majority of those on the marches. This movement has had some impact on the labor movement, winning the passive sympathy of most workers, involving some trade union locals, and the support of Canada's labor party, the NDP. Our comrades have played leading roles in the leadership of the antiwar movement since its inception, and have fought for and won the demands "End Canada's Complicity" and "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now" as the major demands of the movement. The antiwar movement, through the complicity demand, has an anti-Canadian capitalist thrust, helping to deepen the political understanding of the Canadian capitalist class by the movement.

There have been some actions over university complicity through war research and hiring by war industries, but these have not led to any major mobilizations of students as yet. We pose the need for the university as an institution to oppose the Vietnam war and aid the antiwar movement. We have also intervened with the Vietnam issue in the high schools demanding, and in some cases winning Vietnam assemblies during school time. This campaign combined the Vietnam issue effectively with the question of the right to organize politically in the schools.

## 7. Struggles of Student Issues

The dynamic is to link up with other social questions. Demands for control by the students, faculty and campus workers usually arise as a means of meeting the needs of these groups. The occupation of Simon Fraser University in British Columbia in October 1968 over open admissions (students from two colleges were not being granted transfer to Simon Fraser) was a clear example of how student demands link up with the needs of workers. The students were demanding that the university be opened up to the children of workers and that an elected admissions board with equal numbers of faculty and students should guard against discrimination. The students won some support from the unions and the labour party, although the struggle received a severe blow when the majority of those arrested during the occupation decided to plead guilty in the courts.

Another important struggle occurred the next year also at Simon Fraser, when the Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology department was taken over by radical professors and students, and turned into an area for radical activity. The PSA department was dissolved by the administration and the radical professors were fired. Despite the defeat, the struggle showed the possibility of students and faculty uniting in such a struggle. Other struggles have shown the same tendency to link up with broader social questions such as the U of T day care occupation and the demand for free education.

In 1969 both of the national student unions, the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) in English Canada and the Union Generale des Etudi-



ants du Quebec (UGEQ) in Quebec, collapsed, both as a result of a right wing attack and their own contradictions." The national unions, which were supposed to encompass all students, were isolated from the students who had no direct control over the leadership. As the radicalization began to affect Canadian students, the leaders of the unions radicalized in advance of the general student body and became further isolated from them. Furthermore these leaders had no conception of how to bridge the gap between their understanding and the understanding of the students. In the face of genuine struggles, particularly in Quebec, they floundered and did nothing. Student unions continue to exist on a local level, where we intervene particularly in elections, where we can put forward our transitional programme to a broad audience.

As the radicalization continues to deepen accompanied by sharper struggles, new organizational forms will develop, meeting the need for broad democratic formations representing the students' interests. A likely variant is action-committee type formations which arise during the struggle uniting the various tendencies and independent radicals, which might establish links on a regional or national basis.

#### 8. The Alliance With the working Class.

Students can play a role in allying with the working class on two levels. First of all, student revolutionaries can participate in the building of the leadership of the class, most importantly in the LSA/LSO. Secondly, students can play a key role in building solidarity with workers struggles. Within this perspective, the NDP is important. The YS/LJS is the only tendency which defends the labour party in the youth arena, as the expression of independent working class political action in English Canada. Most of the other left groups reject the NDP as a bourgeois party because of its reformist programme and leadership.

"An important development in the NDP has been the emergence of a left wing, known as the "Waffle group", largely initiated by students and professors. This group reflects the radicalization of the student milieu inside the labour party, and the elementary anti-imperialist reaction to the question of Canada/U.S. relations. While the waffle group is a heterogeneous formation, including left-wing social democrats and revolutionaries, it is an important vehicle for presenting socialist ideas in the NDP. We want to win the student movement to collaborate with the NDP and trade unions in common struggle.

One of the Maoist groups, the Canadian Party of Labour, urges students to join picket lines and go into the factories as a strategy for a worker-student alliance. They see students as picket-fodder -- that is, taking student radicals out of their milieu and putting them into situations where they attempt to substitute themselves for workers. While we agree with students supporting strikes, we know that the students cannot substitute themselves for the organized labour movement. Students can best aid militant working class struggles by building solidarity for the struggles within the student movement itself, and supporting the unionization of campus workers and teaching assistants, and faculty struggles for better working conditions.

As the student and youth radicalization continues in Canada, the YS/LJS expects to see increases in our opportunities to build the Trotskyist movement here. Our orientation to the student movement is key



to winning the newly radicalized students to our movement. We see the struggles for women's liberation against the war in Vietnam, for independence in Quebec, and the struggles of students around their needs as students as component parts of the struggle against capitalism and for socialism in Canada. Our major contributions as a youth movement will be in leading youth struggles, and in building the LSA/LSO, which is the nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard party which will lead the working class in the coming Canadian revolution.

\* \* \*



KITCHENER-WATERLOO-GUELPH LOCAL INTERIM REPORT

(Y.S.)

JAN. 1970.

The purpose of this report is to give the members of our local some idea of our progress and growth since the fall conference (Sept. '69) and some direction up to the spring conference (shortly after the end of this school term). It will also be sent to the Central Office, in order to give the C.O. some idea of our activities and an assessment of our work.

The report is divided into two sections. The first deals with a review of the actions we have carried over the past four months. The second part is an evaluation of our past work and some direction for the future, both external activities and internal local progress.

What We Have Done

Sept. 15-19 - This was the first week of the university term, and at all three campuses, we set up lit. tables for the Y.S. and the CEWV. At W.L.U., we published a booklet on initiation and orientation, introducing ourselves, our activities and giving our analysis of the student's position at university. From this, we were able to get a reasonable mailing list and had relatively good sales.

L.A.I. ✓ Sept. 22-26 - During this week, there were campaigns against the "President's Report on Order". At W.L.U., we published copies of the report and called for a student meeting which turned out about 250 students. We presented the position of the Young Socialists on the report and made basically two demands. - That Student's Administrative Council act as the student voice against the report and that the President disassociate himself <sup>and the school</sup> from the report. However, the general mood of the student body was "wait-and-see-what-the-President-does". Realizing that there was no mass support, we did not carry on, although we did question the matter at the S.A.C. meeting and utilized the column one of the comrades had in the paper.

At the University of Waterloo, the Radical Student Movement called meetings but the result was ultraleft and infantile demands. One of our comrades did try to intervene.

At the University of Guelph, our participation again, was minimal. The Guelph Student Movement tried to carry some action, but it proved much the same as U. of W., with even less support.

Oct. 1 - The Y.S. Clubs at the U. of G. and W.L.U. sponsored a campus meeting with speaker Jacquie Henderson and the film "Students in Revolt"

Oct. 7 - At W.L.U., the comrades on this campus were approached by an official in the strike of the workers at Orr Motors in Kitchener, asking for student aid. At this date, we held a meeting on campus to explain the position of the workers and to present some of our views on the student-worker alliance. We had a very small turn out (about ten) but some of these did a small amount of picketing for a day or so.

✓ Oct. 8 - At W.L.U. we ran two Socialist candidates in the S.A.C. by-election. (one comrade and one non-comrade). Our campaign was not well prepared for, although we did publish a leaflet stating our demands for students democracy. Combined, the candidates were able to gain a reasonable amount of the vote, even though we lost.

At this point, we should note, that on W.L.U. campus, our comrades had been intervening on a regular basis in the S.A.C. meetings, calling to question S.A.C. policies in the running of the university.

student position in the

- Vietnam.  
- sales of lit. & S.F.  
-



Oct. 11-13 - The Y.S. convention in Montreal held at these dates was well publicized on all campuses, and we were able to draw a number of contacts to the event.

Also to be noted is the sub. drive prior to the convention. We gained 23 new subs out of a quota of 35.

Oct. 14 - Through the work of a high school comrade, we were invited to present a speaker for the Y.S. and Socialism in a history class. Ross Dowson spoke and received a good reception, selling some lit. and making a few contacts.

Oct. 15 - The University of Guelph held a campus meeting for George Haggart as part of the Y.S. and L.S.A. defence campaign for him as he carried out actions for his suit filed against certain universities for discrimination in their hiring/firing and promotion procedures. Later in Oct., we sponsored a Haggart meeting at the University of Waterloo.

Oct. 15 - At the University of Waterloo and W.L.U., we played an active role in the Moratorium activity at both universities. At U. of W., we intervened with the anti-war slogans - End Canada's Complicity and Bring All the Troops Home Now - and tried to project people towards Nov. 15. At W.L.U., we helped organized a speak-out with two of our comrades speaking on Canada's complicity and the importance of the International Day of Protest Nov. 15. Lit. was sold at both schools.

Oct. 16 - At W.L.U. we were able to bring Tariq Ali to speak to about 175 students. We were able to finance this (\$500) through the Cultural Affairs Committee. During the day, we had a lit. table.

Oct. 20 - At both the Waterloo universities, the Y.S. sponsored an open forum for Raymond Lemieux with funds (\$150) coming from the students' councils. The response was quite good. On both the Tariq Ali Meeting and the Lemieux meeting, our comrades were able to publish stories in the campus papers.

Oct. 21 - A group of high school students in Guelph asked for a speaker on Socialism. Joe Young came and was favourably received.

Oct. 22 - A George Addison meeting was held on all three campuses under the auspices of the CEWV's. This acted as the kick off for preparations for Nov. 15. Between the Oct. 22 meeting and the IDP, many meetings were held, and all campuses were able to pull out reasonable numbers to these.

At U. of W., there was a Torch Light parade and speakout on the evening of the 14th. W.L.U. sponsored a two-day teach-in on the 13th and 14th. U. of G. showed a film on chemical and biological warfare prior to the 15th. In the demonstration at Kit.-Waterloo, there were between 100 and 150 participants. In Guelph, they drew about 125 people. These efforts are not bad considering that this was the first demonstration we centred in ~~Toronto~~ this area and not in Toronto.

Oct. 24 (?) WLU and U. of W. comrades sponsored a Quebec solidarity rally. The turnout was very poor but we did get a couple of names for the mailing list. Also, the group sent a telegram of solidarity to the Ligue Pour l'Integration Scolaire.

Nov. 26 - The comrades at W.L.U. sponsored a meeting on Women's Liberation. They invited Colleen Levis to speak at a general meeting and were also able to invite her into a philosophy class to present the topic. We got a reasonable number of women interested



in the subject and are making plans for organizational meeting to form a group.

High School work - During the past four months, our high school comrades have had several meetings with area high school contacts to start a radical paper. However, our work has been inconclusive in this and we have not been able to put out a first issue, although there are plans to make a final go of it. Also, it is becoming more important to start centering them on the issue of Vietnam. We have also done a number of Y.S.F. sales in all three cities, with the sales being successful (about a \$4.00 average per morning) and the contact with the students being somewhat favorable.

Finally, a note on the Fund Drive. Although we accepted our quota of \$650, we were able to raise only \$260. We will be continuing fund raising actions, and send the result into the C.O. as a donation.

### An Evaluation

Our External Work - During the past four months our local has grown in perspective, involving three campuses, area high schools and the Conestoga Community College. However, growing in perspective does not mean growing in action. We have managed to lay some basic preliminary groundwork through the Y.S.F., leading the anti-war movement in the area, and individual high school and campus projects.

The main result is that we have a certain number of contacts around us in all of these arenas. However, generally due to our lack of personnel and time, we have been unable to properly consolidate the majority of these either as "hard core" sympathizers" or as recruits into the movement. While our local has gained four new comrades (plus one other, transferred from T.O.), the possibilities of our ranks growing are there. But, it means a certain amount of patient, educative "contact" work. It also means that our comrades must come to realize their abilities and opportunities as leaders in campus actions. This particular part of our work must be dealt with realistically. During the past school term, we set some very high goals for ourselves, as far as external activity was concerned, and consequently tended to overextend ourselves, and become worn out with running around from one action to another. What we must do now, is to realistically judge the mileaux we are in. As the issues come up or are created, there will be a need to hold regular fractions meetings, make decisions on our position and priorities and then act solidly, and with clarity and precision during the campaign. At all three campuses, our ability to lead a struggle seems overwhelming considering our numbers, but not impossible, especially if we realistically examine our leadership, our position and our following. The main problem is that we must understand priorities. We cannot become involved in every issue that arises but we can intervene, form united fronts and lead priority issues. In this way, by continuing our educationals, our literature tables, doing solid contact work and understanding how and what our intervention work involves, we can recruit and build on the campuses. However, realizing that this milieu can act in a very militant way, it is obvious that we will have to be very clear on our priorities. Our main objective is to win the students to Socialism, to build the Canadian revolution. As Trotskyists, with a clear understanding of theory and practice, we can do this. At all the universities where we have a foothold, our numbers are not large, but our perspective is high.

At the University of Guelph, the most important work to be done is consistent literature sales, and educationals. Women's liberation work and the anti-war movement can be quite fruitful here. We can intervene on certain issues, but because of the reaction U. of G. students have to radical politics (because of apathy, which need go without saying or to the past ultraleft actions of the Guelph Student Movement)



it will require great care and clarity on our part.

At W.L.U., because we are the only organized radical element on campus, our possibilities seem wide open. However, the level of consciousness of the mass of students on that campus is very low. Our main objective here is to raise the level of consciousness at least to the point of understanding that there are burning issues which they as students must deal with and organize around. Lit. tables go relatively well, Vietnam can bring some students around and the issue of women's liberation has some potential. It is highly important too than we immediately consolidate those contacts we have made through Vietnam work.

At the University of Waterloo, the most intense element to be dealt with is the R.S.M. (Radical Student Movement) While our priority again is educational, we must investigate the possibilities of intervening in this movement (and its splinters, e.g. the Mythical Left) and win the students over to carrying actions in such a way as not to "get their heads cracked open". The number of "radicals" on this campus indicates great possibilities but the ridiculous way that they their actions, indicates the need for clear socialist reasoning. Vietnam can attract many although they would like to participate in "dramatic" sort of demos. Speakers and open forums are also able to bring out a number of students.

The high schools in this area hold good potential. We have been able to contact a number of students who are ready for action. But for us to be effective, we must recognize the need for leadership (for their mainly action-orientated ideas) and secondly, sensitivity to their own situation and the quickness of their demoralization. As a local, we should recognize the priority of high school work. We can all be involved in this with Y.S.F. sales and through talking with these students. However, we too must realize their desire to make their own decisions to function as a high school unit. If we patiently follow through on the former part, then we can have a reasonable amount of confidence in their decisions.

But, all of this can be accomplished only through a proper understanding of the functioning of our local as a whole.

During the past four months, I think it would appear that we have gone from one extreme to the other. For a certain period we spent all of our time on external activities and then going the other way and becoming centred wholly on internal workings. Both are important. But we must find the correct balance. In this way, one can compliment the other. Understanding the importance of local meeting as being necessary to our ternal development as Trotskyists, it will aid our external work. Decisions reached at local meetings are obviously political decisions and consequently entail a certain responsibility. It is incumbent on every comrade to participate in the growth of the local as a cohesive unit and to accept the responsibility of the local as his situation permits. If each comrade recognizes ~~him~~ himself as being vital to the development of the local, then we will not necessarily have the "one-extreme-to-the-other situation."

A second of our major problems in the local has been our own education. We have developed the joint educationals on Sunday mornings. They have been relatively successful despite the on-again, off-again attendance. Just as comrades consider it mandatory to attend local meetings, we must realize the importance of attending the joint educationals and the necessity of ~~complimenting~~ this through self-education (reading and informal discussions).

And a third obstacle to our local growth can be simply that we don't have a headquarters. This should be considered a priority project for the whole local. It will take finances and time on the part of all the comrades. At this stage, it is vital that we all recognize the need for a headquarters immediately.

On a quick glance, this report would seem rather critical - and it supposed to be. However, we have made a number advances. We must recognize our successes, but not fail to understand our mistakes.

VENCEREMOS



## HIGH SCHOOL REPORT

Presented by the Central Executive Council  
YS/LJS DB June 1970 Vol.6 No. 1

There is an important and growing radicalization among Canadian high school students. This radicalization has had its most profound expression in the antiwar movement, but has also manifested itself around hundreds of local struggles that could be broadly termed "student rights". In Quebec, the major struggles have taken place around the fight to preserve the French language, which mobilized the vast majority of high school students in the upsurge in October 1969.

Attendance at high school is compulsory until the age of 16. The great majority of the students are destined to become workers. They are concentrated in the schools for their formative years, when they are taught to accept the discipline of the shop floor in the restrictive school environment. However their concentration and the reaction to the lack of democratic rights in the schools make the students easier to reach and organize. They are also very open to socialist ideas.

The purpose of this article is to report on the situation in the high schools and the role of the YS in this area. We will discuss the organizational forms that have arisen, the antiwar movement, our program for the high schools, the development of our cadre and other questions.

### MODERNIZATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOLS:

There have been a number of extensive changes made in the school system during the past period to streamline the schools to better meet the needs of neo-capitalism. The general effect of these changes has been to direct the students into specialized "streams". Some are directed towards becoming intellectual workers for capitalism, while others are destined to become blue collar workers. This division is made basically on a class basis. There are far more technical, vocational and commercial high schools in the working class districts than in the middle class areas. In Toronto, for example, 45% of the students in the city are in the five-year academic stream, while in the more affluent suburbs, 60-70% are in the five-year courses. There is a concentration of the special two-year (*technical -ed.*) schools in working class districts. The system ensures that capitalism will have workers to fill its varied needs including intellectual workers who still retain some creativity within the context of serving the system. In no way do these "reforms" signify a relinquishing of the hold of the state on the schools, but rather they signify an increasing intervention of the state to ensure sufficiently trained human labor.

Some administrations are attempting to co-opt the student radicalization through token reforms. There has been some loosening of discipline with regard to dress standards etc., but



this falls far short of student demands. Political repression in the schools has not lessened in the least.

In the long run, students will come to see that the rights they have were granted because of their pressure. They will be encouraged to struggle for more rights, leaving the administration in a contradiction: if no reforms are made, the students will fight for change; if reforms are made, the students will fight for more. While we welcome these reforms insofar as they make the schools more tolerable and create a freer atmosphere, we must fight to expose the inability of these reforms to fundamentally change the nature of the school system.

#### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS:

There are practically no democratic rights in Canadian high schools. Students are subject to arbitrary discipline without appeal, they have no right to form political clubs or to organize politically in the schools, they have no rights to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press. Any struggle for democratic rights means a direct challenge to the administration. This situation is particularly severe in Quebec high schools where the slightest political activity has led to wholesale expulsions. There are continually struggles breaking out in the schools around various demands for democratic rights. We intervene in these whenever they break out, attempting to put forward demands which lead in the direction of winning some power for the students.

Every school has a student council which oversees dances and a few other extra-curricular activities. These bodies are passed off as being democratic when in fact they have no say in how the school is run. They are a great training ground for bourgeois democracy since they are a farce. We run in student council elections to expose the true nature of these bodies and to put forward our views. We look for opportunities to unite with other radicals to pose a radical slate on a principled program. We carried campaigns for free elections in three schools in Toronto this past year and one in Vancouver. These campaigns had a great impact although no victories were won. At one school, Vaughan Road Collegiate, a comrade was able to organize a walkout of 80 students to support his candidacy.

In the Toronto suburb of North York, a new body has appeared, the Intercollegiate Student Council of North York. This body unites representatives from most of the student councils in the area. Its motto is "progress through responsibility". Nevertheless, it has opposed all the most progressive demands including the walkout against the extension of the school year, the right to form political clubs, and Vietnam assemblies during school time. While at times we make interventions in ISCNY, on the whole we see it as an attempt to co-opt the radical students and bog them down in parliamentarism instead of mass action.



## ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS:

With the exception of the student antiwar movement, there have been no continuing independent student organizations. Any attempt to set up a permanent student rights organization is extremely difficult because of the instability of the milieu, parental pressures, pressures of schoolwork, threats of repression, and lack of experience with ideas and organization. We can expect that through continuing struggles high school students will learn the importance of defensive organizations and leadership, but the other factors will continue to make the building of such organizations on any long term basis very difficult. Ad hoc action committees for the particular struggle will probably be the basic, form of organization.

In Toronto, an attempt to set up a student rights organization has been made, the League for Student Democracy. This group has degenerated into a personality clique gravitating around one individual. It has initiated no independent actions of its own and where it has managed to elect candidates to student councils, they have generally talked left, but did not mobilize students against the administration. We feel that this group has no perspective, and that it will follow the same path as previous attempts at continuing high school rights organizations such as the Committee Against the Extension of the School Year and the High School Student Union, which had viability only around particular struggles, and then dissolved.

A common form of radical activity has been the underground newspaper. These are centered around groups of radicals in the schools, who publish and distribute their papers counter to the administration-controlled school newspapers. In many cases in the struggle against censorship of school papers, the editorial groups have turned into organizations fighting for student rights. While this is not a major area of work for us, our comrades should write articles for these papers as a vehicle for our ideas. In some schools we might even initiate a radical student newspaper.

When a struggle in a particular school arises, our comrades attempt to organize ad hoc action committees to organize mass actions of the students. Such committees should be non-exclusive and not attempt to impose a rounded political program. Rather they should concentrate on the particular issue involved and attempt to direct the struggle towards winning concrete gains which will give the students more power in the schools. The committee should be run on a mass, democratic, decision-making basis, with an elected leadership responsible and accountable to the committee. We should strive for inter-school co-ordination where the basis for this exists.

Open socialist propaganda is a major part of our work. We regularly sell Young Socialist Forum in the schools. We can use organizations like world affairs or current affairs clubs to bring socialist speakers into the schools. We run in election



campaigns as a vehicle for our ideas. If we have sufficient forces in a school, we can set up a Young Socialist Club as an organized group proclaiming our ideas.

#### CAMPAIGN FOR VIETNAM ASSEMBLIES:

The longest continuing organization in the high schools is Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV), which was initiated by our comrades in 1966 as a high school antiwar committee. This is a testimony to the profound radicalizing effect which Vietnam has had in the schools. SAWV has had an up and down existence, sometimes being sustained only by our comrades, but it alone has proven able to consistently mobilize high school students for the mass antiwar demonstrations. No other high school organization can claim such a record. Almost all of our high school recruits have come from antiwar work.

This year we decided to initiate a cross-country campaign for Vietnam assemblies during school time. This was the continuation of the Vietnam Teach-In campaign of 1967 in Toronto. There were two purposes for this campaign: to build the antiwar movement in the schools; and to establish the right to hold assemblies on relevant political issues. The linking of Vietnam with student rights was very important in deepening the understanding of the war and "democracy" at home. It raised the whole question of the right to organize against the war in the schools, and pointed the way for future struggles which will center more and more on the right to use the schools as an organizing base against the system.

The campaign won assemblies in five Toronto schools, five in Hamilton, two in Vancouver and in other centers. The York Board of Education

(...)they break out, attempting to put forward demands which lead in the direction of winning some power for the students.

(...) became the first Board to ever support Vietnam assemblies during school time. For the first time students were able to speak before the North York Board of Education, after the Board had used police to expel them from a previous meeting; and the Board gave lip service to the idea of assemblies. These victories are a firm foundation for extending the struggle next year and are indicative of the growing mood of radicalization which the administrations have to recognize. With the widening of the Southeast Asian war, the antiwar struggle remains our major area of work in the high schools.

#### WOMEN'S LIBERATION:

We have found high school women very receptive to the ideas of women's liberation. They are subject to blatant oppression



from their health courses which teach them how to be "date bait" to the streaming of women out of science and mathematics, to the fear of unwanted pregnancy and lack of birth control information. High school women are younger and less brain-washed and thus have less prejudice to overcome when they turn to the women's liberation movement.

In York Memorial Collegiate in Toronto, a group of high school women, under the impetus of our movement, have formed a women's liberation group in their school, an unprecedented action in all of Canada. They held a meeting near the school which attracted close to 200 students, at which one of our comrades spoke. From this meeting they carried a struggle to be recognized as an official school club and won. They circulated petitions, which were signed by a majority of the students to win their demands. The problem now posed before this group is what further actions it can carry and how it can extend into more schools. A broad meeting oriented to high school women has helped take the movement forward. We must do everything we can to promote this type of development.

#### TEACHER-STUDENT UNITY:

The past year has seen the development of teachers' struggles across the country for higher wages and better working conditions. In a number of areas, teachers have resorted to work-to-rule and threats of mass resignation. Teachers do not belong to a union but an "association". They do not yet have the right to strike. In Ottawa, Winnipeg and Sudbury, in response to slowdowns and the breakdown in negotiations, students have gone on strike, closing the schools and marching on the local Boards of Education to demand that the Board negotiate with the teachers. While these actions have generally supported the teachers, there has been some feeling that teachers are hurting the students by not settling with the Boards. However, they are an important precedent, offering students a great opportunity to bridge the gap between students and teachers promoted by the administration. Unity of teachers and students around common demands would be a powerful combination. The growing radicalization of teachers, many of whom were radicalized in high school and university, makes this increasingly possible. The YS must do everything it can to promote this process, setting up student committees to support the teachers wherever possible.

#### MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS:

During the fall of 1969, the YS ran eight candidates for Board of Education in the Toronto municipal elections. This campaign aimed at popularizing our transitional and democratic program for the high schools. Through it we managed to reach wide layers of students and to draw new contacts around us. The program we put forward follows:



**"For democracy in the schools** - Student-staff control of schools. Right to form student clubs freely. Right to vote at 18. Right to criticize the administration without fear of reprisals. For an un-censored student press. End arbitrary regulations on hair, clothing styles, etc. Student control of discipline. Right of any student to run for student council and to use school facilities to present his or her program.

**"Stop the war in Vietnam** - Bring the truth about U.S. aggression and Canadian complicity in Vietnam into the schools. Hold Vietnam teach-ins in every school, and give students the facilities to organize to express their views.

**"End discrimination against the working people** - First-rate facilities and instruction in working class districts. End automatic streaming of working class youth into job-training programs. Teach the truth about labor history, and working people's struggles for a better society.

**"For women's libération** - End the streaming of young women away from math and sciences and into areas that society says are reserved for women. Teach the truth about the role of women in history. Sex education at the public school level. Free birth control information and devices.

**"For a free university** - Free education at all levels. Living allowance for all students 16 and over. Kick big business off the boards of the universities. Student-faculty-non-teaching-staff control. Universities to serve the working people.

**"Education for tomorrow** -- End religious discrimination by abolishing all religious exercises. No public funds for separate schools. Full rights for teachers to bargain collectively over salaries, fringe benefits, and working conditions. Extension of the school system to include free daycare centers for all pre-school children."

A demand that was raised in the elections by reformist elements found some support among high school students -- that of community councils of teachers, students and community people to run each individual school. We opposed this demand because it diverted attention from where the real power lies. We demanded labor to power in city hall and on the Boards of Education, and student-teacher control of the schools. Community councils would be powerless because they would be established on a regional basis, and would have no control over funds. There is no class content to this demand because it



treats rich communities on the same level as working class communities. The community council at Toronto's Bathurst Heights Collegiate illustrates the bankruptcy of this idea. The council is life-less, students are outnumbered on it, and it has merely an advisory capacity. For these reasons, we are opposed to the community council concept as dangerous attempt to derail the radical elements.

#### BUILDING HIGH SCHOOL CADRE:

Because of its organizational seriousness and program, the YS is the only organized tendency that has been able to imbed itself in the high school milieu and do consistent work. But there are a great many problems in building our high school cadre. High school fractions have always been hard to hold together, and the high school area has seen our greatest turnover in comrades. This is to be expected because of the great pressure on these comrades and their lack of political experience.

Our most serious opponents in the schools are the advocates of dropping out and changing your head instead of society. There is also pressure from ultraleft and opportunist trends, although there are no such organizational forms in the schools. In addition, there is always the threat of the administration taking repressive measures against comrades for their political activity. High school comrades also face pressure from parents, often of a monetary nature.

We educate our comrades to grasp the ideas of the movement and to have a proper perspective of the struggles we are undertaking. We urge them to stay in school to continue the struggle and to get good grades so that the administration cannot have any non-political reason for victimizing them. We encourage them to come to terms with their parents until such time as they can support themselves. We teach them to rely on the movement to defend them against any victimization.

Our correct political approach enables our comrades to carry struggles for democratic rights without unnecessarily exposing themselves to attack. We pose our demands defensively so that we can win the widest support among students and the population at large, and so that the administration can have no pretext for expelling us and other activists from school. We are careful to explain how the administration violates basic democratic rights and that we are fighting for rights which are generally guaranteed to the average person under bourgeois democracy. We make sure that all struggles are publicized so that the activists do not become isolated. Administrations are very nervous about publicity which exposes the true nature of the schools.

#### CONCLUSIONS:

While there has been a steady broadening of the



radicalization among Canadian high school students, there has been no stabilisation of high school organizations. The antiwar movement, our major area of work, has been the only continuing movement in the schools, although at times it has been sustained by our comrades alone. The YS/LJS is the only political tendency which has done consistent work and has sunk firm roots in this area. We can expect that the next period will bring big explosions, upsurges and temporary declines as well, but that the direction will generally be upward. With our program and with our emerging high school cadre, we are confident of our ability to meet this challenge and give it political direction.

(end)



young  
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Discussion  
Bulletin

JUNE 1970

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YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS  
HIGH SCHOOLERS IN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

A contribution to the discussion by the  
Vancouver local high school fraction

The question of YS intervention and work within the high school milieu is a topic of prime importance to the Trotskyist movement as a whole. Our ability to attract and to involve and to educate rebel youth in the program for revolutionary socialism at such an early and ripe age will be our guarantee of trained experienced cadres to fill the ranks of the working class vanguard in the years ahead.

What shape YS intervention takes will vary according to the size and capabilities of YS forces within the school, as well as the objective conditions. (extent of alienation, radicalization, etc.)

Using our local experience at New Westminster Secondary (the school we intervened in most successfully so far this year), I will try to draw some conclusions on various topics pertaining to our intervention.

THE VIETNAM WAR

The world socialist revolution is struggling onward and upward in all parts of the globe, but by far the most historic confrontation taking place is the struggle of the Vietnamese people for socialist liberation. It is a decisive battle. If this tiny underdeveloped nation can defeat the mightiest imperialist capitalist power on earth - then the world revolution will be seen as invincible. It will demoralize the capitalists, bolster the courage and morale of the third world struggle, it will be a staggering victory, and radical movements everywhere will experience a gigantic upsurge. But it is even much more than the tremendous psychological value - the U.S. needs their Vietnam as places for capitalism to thrive and exploit. The U.S. ruling class needs the war to feed their war-gear economy. And yet they are being pressured by the anti-war movement and the bitter determination of the people of Vietnam to abandon that market. When the troops come back, many of them already radicalized, or at least dissatisfied with their government and society, they will find there is no place for them unemployment will grow, discontent will grow. The ideas of socialist revolution will take hold in the heartland of world capitalism itself.... So it is a primary responsibility of all socialists including those in the high schools, to work to build the anti-war movement which in the last analysis defends the Vietnamese revolution. It is true that the Vietnam war is a long way off and it often seems more relevant to high school YSers to struggle for greater freedoms and rights, or for course changes - things that seem to affect them directly and personally. We should by no means abandon or exclude these things from our orientation but in the last analysis; what happens in Vietnam is a lot more relevant to all of us than any one given petty issue within a school. Fighting for freedom of dress is infinitely small compared to defending the struggle of the Vietnamese people who are taking on the whole system. If the Vietnam war escalates into World War Three, what good will a few course changes do for us? In Vietnam the major battle of our generation is being fought, if the Vietnamese revolution is crushed we will live in the shadow of the defeat, it would mean a gigantic set-back to the world revolution as a whole. The Vietnamese must win.

The anti-war movement because of its basic anti-imperialist nature is a key movement for socialists. It draws to it the most aware layers of today's youth, it is the reflection of a radicalizing generation and out of it we have and will continue to do so, through our intervention in it as Young Socialists, recruit to the side of socialism and revolution those who see Vietnam for what it really is, not just "an immoral



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war" that was a "mistake", but rather just one symptom of a desperate and dying social order.

In Vancouver the YS intervenes in the high schools around the question of the Vietnam war through SAWV (High School students against the war in Vietnam). During times of mobilization it grows into the largest action-oriented high school grouping in the city. It played a key role in mobilizing the 1000 high school students who came out on November 15th. Through the paper, the Student Mobilizer, we can broaden to include student right struggles in general, indeed, the attempted suppression of anti-war students inside the high-schools is a good issue to build from. Except for the rather doubtful paper of the Vancouver Inter-High School Student Union, the Student Mobilizer is the only other inter-high student paper in the city. The paper also plays the role of giving high school YSers good experience in producing their own press.

Inside the individual high schools anti-war work varies. On the week of November 14th, the YS through SAWV, carried many moratorium activities. The most prominent being the showing of the 1968 Halstead (SWP) film. In two schools where an anti-war club was established, the activities included a Vietnamese dinner and a folk singer, plus a film and speakers. In New Westminster Secondary, we intervened through the Student World Affairs Caucus (a club established and controlled by the YS comrades in the school - which according to its constitution "is an activist-oriented club dedicated to stimulating thought and controversy around subjects of relevance to the student body." On the week of November 15, we of course, took up the topic of Vietnam. We brought in folk-singers, the Halstead film, and "leading Canadian anti-war speakers" including Mike Jones and Carol Olinuek. Because of the expanding size and strength of the anti-war movement and the new layers brought into play on October 14th and Nov. 15 we found students' councils and administrations are put in a dangerous position if they move against anti-war attempts within the schools. In our school, we won support and endorsement of both the students' council and the school paper even though both have had up until now an unbroken record for being either reactionary or totally apolitical one way or the other.

It was through the radicalization due to the experience of responding to our efforts within the school and marching on Nov. 15th, that we expanded from one YSer to 3 with the immediate prospects of recruiting at least 2 more in the near future and 4 more not far behind - that is in New Westminster alone.

#### WORLD AFFAIRS CLUB

In many provinces including British Columbia, political clubs are still banned, about the only existing clubs within the schools the least bit political being United Nations clubs. New Westminster, as in most schools we found this club to be totally stagnant of life. At first, the very thought of working with them was nauseating, not only because of the whole concept of the United Nations as a banner to work under, but also because of its reputation in the school as the most dull, stupifying club, composed of three or four "prais" and functioning totally isolated from the student body doing things like playing United Nations with miniature mock assemblies, etc. However, not being able to establish our own formation or even an anti-war club, we were forced to intervene in the UN club with the prospect of establishing an anti-war committee within it. However, due to the lifelessness of the U.N. formation we found within no time we had total control of the club. We changed the name to the Student World Affairs Caucus, threw out the old constitution and got ourselves elected to the executive. We made our first appearance publicly on "clubs fair day". There we were, between the Future Nurses Club, and the cheerleaders corps and across from the Tiddily Winks club, etc, with a huge banner with the lettering SWAC (subtitled for peace and freedom) mounted under a poster of Che, encircled by anti-war protest signs, with 2 gigantic Vietnam atrocity pictures in the foreground.



Although the administration intervened in time to stop us from distributing back issue of YSFs to the masses of students gathering, an immediate petitioning campaign prevented further repression. Since that time the club has moved out to become the most active in the school. We strategically carried forth a number of liberal actions like collecting money for UNICEF and sponsoring mass in-school assemblies on pollution. Both of which got us splashed across the front page of the local (social credit controlled) New Westminister paper. This has forced a hands-off attitude of the administration and has satisfied our liberal faculty advisor just enough as to allow us to go forward and concentrate mass actions around various transitional struggles, Vietnam and the anti-war movement, Student power, women's liberation etc.

Although the executive of the club is firmly controlled by radicals ( 2 YSers and 1 good contact) , we have been extremely conscious of keeping the membership non-exclusionist or cliquish, and to all intents and purposes the club itself is neutral on all questions, this lets us bring in members of the movement as speakers and at the same time by not officially endorsing their ideas but instead, just offering them for discussion. Because all club functions are totally open and directed at the student body at large, all membership meetings of the club are for the sole purpose of organizing the larger functions.

A club of this type, has an extremely good educational value and is an excellent medium for YSers to intervene and present their ideas to students interested in world affairs. By not allowing the club to become isolated and become a small discussion group but instead continually going outward and being activist-oriented and utilizing all mediums available for recognized clubs, bulletin boards -school press, etc., it is not hard to gain the recognition as the club that is doing something, the dominant club in the school.

In schools where clubs of this nature already exist, even if they are strong, it should be very easy for YSers to effectively intervene and influence them towards a prospectus that will provide opportunities to expose the students of the school to a socialist outlook on the world and the various problems facing mankind. And in schools where no such clubs exist, finding a sponsor and starting one shouldn't be too hard as it itself is not a radical proposition.

#### YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM SELLING THE PRESS

An essential and vital asset of any revolutionary group is its press. Young Socialist Forum is a medium by which any YSer in high school or not can make contributions aimed at building our movement and influencing the whole Canadian wide student radicalization.

The selling of this press is a prime and revolutionary duty of every member of our movement. One of the most obvious places one can sell YSF is within the milieu one works. With high school students, that means selling to students within their schools. However, we should not become sectarian on this point, it should be flexible. That is in a situation where we are making immeasurable gains within the student milieu and it would not be to our advantage to be caught openly selling a socialist press, we shouldn't. But even in these situations comrades should at least peddle the press to friends and contacts and try to sell them subs. Also, students who opt out of selling the press within school should make up for it in regular street sales.

By and large, YSF tends to be a campus oriented paper, for it is here that the most intellectually advanced layers of the student milieu tend to be. However, our movement has much to gain from recruitment at much earlier stages such as high school. Grade 10 and 11 are ideal grades for recruitment. Giving the new comrades 2 to 3 years experience and education before they hit the campus or whatever the educational system has channelled them into. Therefore, while on one hand orientation should definitely not exclude campus orientation, much greater emphasis should be on the high schools or more correctly aimed at



high school students (as the articles need not be on high schools specifically). Greater coverage should be given to various high school struggles across the country so students begin to see their situation from a broader perspective. The lack of this coverage is undoubtedly not as much due to conscious editorial policy but rather lack of high school comrades contributing. (We here in Vancouver have been no exception to this as of yet.) We hope however, that in future issues of YSF an image more tuned on to the high school radicalization evolves.

### LOCAL HIGH SCHOOL NEWSPAPERS

In schools where regular student papers are carried, YSers should take full advantage. In most cases apathy and lack of interest leaves these usually reactionary papers devoid of material to print - we can fill that vacuum.

Our experience in New Westminster (where the paper is controlled by the school's journalism class and is distributed to all students free) has been very good in this respect. The more we become active through the World Affairs Councils, through SAWV, through leading petitioning campaigns around students rights, etc., etc. the more DEMAND there became for contributions to the school paper. Now that we have a core of YSers within the school we are moving in the direction of continual agitational and propaganda work through this medium. As several of us can contribute articles on different issues, from now onwards at least one of us plan to appear in every issue. Next year at least one of our comrades will be within the journalism class and will hopefully win the position of editor.

Comrades should make a point of contributing regular articles and letters to the editor to their school papers, and in cases where the running of the paper is open to all students, comrades should not hesitate to intervene and play if possible a key role within the paper.

### STUDENT COUNCILS

While it is an accepted fact that student councils are farces with little or no real power as the 'voice of the students' YSers should not under any circumstances abstain from running themselves as candidates on a radical socialist platform (of course you don't necessarily have to use that terminology). All candidates for council elections usually have opportunity to make their views known to the whole student body before massive assemblies. YSers can take this excellent opportunity to really raise shit against the educational system and local issues pertaining to students within the school. YSers can, from the platform of running for council, broaden their speeches to include condemnation of the U.S. in Vietnam and endorsement of the anti-war movement, etc. In cases where possible we should organize slates of radicals running on a united and clear cut program.

We made the mistake in New Westminster by passing up a mid-term election for Vice President (caused by the resignation of the one radical on council). We assumed that because of the council's present disposition we would just be burying ourselves down in bureaucratic hog-wash and would be constantly voted down and thus ineffectual. We failed to fully understand the value of even the title of Vice President. With it we could have had access to the P.A. system, and would have been able to mobilize and carry forth student struggles much more firmly. We don't intend to repeat that mistake, already we are planning and setting the groundwork for a radical slate of YSers and other radicals in the spring.

In cases where class presidents are elected, serious attempts should be made to see that at least one person of good potential is running in every class room. In every and any area where students are being nominated for any post, where possible rad-



icals should be in the running. We must take every opportunity to make our ideas known. Even for beauty contests (School queen) etc. one should be sure a girl is running on a platform of women's liberation.

### ON THE MANIFESTO FOR THE 1968 CONVENTION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH

The position taken by the tendency within the Toronto Youth High School fraction was of the center of interest and concern for members of the Vancouver high school fraction attending the convention last October. We feel there is much we can learn from that experience. Our position, generally speaking, at the convention was that the faction was the result of some genuine grievances and we all felt strong sympathies with them, yet we disagreed with their analysis of the movement and its leaders. For, although our high school fraction had only been in existence for one month, we felt none of the repression, exploitation or hostilities which they projected as being throughout the very core of our movement.

At that time we concluded that although they were quite incorrect in their position, the full blame could not be put on them as individuals but seemed to rest more with the circumstances and set up of the Toronto local at the time (admittedly an over-crowded mad-house) and perhaps a hard-line attitude among some of the leadership which resulted in a further polarization away from, instead of integrating into, the movement.

However, after much thought, research, self-education, and discussion around the concepts raised by the now X-comrades, after many beneficial discussions with more experienced and seasoned comrades and with the added confidence that we who attended the convention have now been in the movement for half a year and the alleged impending age chauvinism, political machinism, and anti-culturalism has still failed to materialize, we feel we should comment on some of those concepts evident that caused their alienation and eventual departure from the Trotskyist Youth Vanguard. If we would take pages upon pages if one was to present a complete critique on their document, taking up each contradiction, falsification and misconception. We will therefore skip over the trivial details and discuss some of the more serious and deep-rooted objections they raised.

We hail the X-comrades desires to attain "a revolutionary life style" and we hail their genuine yearning for new and beautiful artistic creativity, however, it seems to us they have been inflicted with the very thing they claim they are rebelling from (both from society and within the YS). That is their whole conception of politics and culture reflected very much a narrow bourgeois consciousness. However, one cannot criticize them for this, for each and every human born within capitalism is in the end result a product of it. It is important that we all understand this.

We improve with the improvement of humanity.

Without the improvement of the whole you can't hope that your own moral and material conditions will improve.

Generally you cannot, even if you would, separate yourself from humanity.

You live in it, by it, for it. Your souls cannot free themselves from the influence of the elements and which they exist just as the body no matter how robust its constitution cannot escape from the effects of the corrupt air around it.

There is no hope for you except in universal reform

In the brotherhood of all humanity

I charge you then O brothers, by your duty and by your own interests not to forget that your first and foremost duties are to humanity

Let your words, and your actions be for all.

The only "revolutionary life style" is to lead a life totally committed to the overthrow of the capitalist state apparatus, and the abolition of class society. That can only happen if each and every person within the movement understands the deepest complexities, just what it is we are up against and how it can and must inevitably

1 The Duties of Man - Giuseppe Mazzini (Italian patriot 1805-1872)



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change — you don't have to learn that by running off to rock concerts or blowing dope and balling "chicks". You have to study, you have to educate yourself and then others. You have to attend forums, you have to help build the movement, in short, you cannot run away from politics. How can you talk of free form artistic adventures while 2/3rds of mankind grows hungrier, while millionaires and billionaires grow richer? While the educational system stamps creativity out of the masses of North American youth? We are the sons and daughters of capitalist society and no matter how hard we rebel we cannot divorce ourselves from this fact. While the profit system contorts and prevents all existence?

Under capitalism man is controlled by a pitiless code of laws which is usually beyond his comprehension. The alienated human individual is tied to society in its aggregate by an invisible umbilical cord — the law of value. It is operative in all aspects of his life, shaping its course and destiny.

To sum up, the fault of our artists and intellectuals lies in their original sin: they are not truly revolutionary. We can try to graft the elm trees so it will bear pears, but at the same time we must plant pear trees. New generations will come who will be free of the original sin. The probabilities that great artists will appear will be greater to the degree that the field of culture and the possibilities for expression are broadened.... Already there are revolutionaries coming who will sing the song of the new man in the true voice of the people.

Our sacrifice is conscious: an installment payment of the freedom that we are building.<sup>2</sup>

Here are a few quotes from that original Superrot himself — Léon Trotsky — who, like Che Guevara, gave his total life to the task of socialist revolution.

The price of art can be determined by the following general argument. If the victorious Russian proletariat had not created its own army, the workers state would have been dead long ago, and would not be thinking about economy problems, and much less about intellectual and cultural ones. If the dictatorship of the proletariat should prove incapable in the next few years of organizing the economic life and of securing at least a living minimum of material comforts of its population, then the proletarian regime will inevitably return to dust. The economic problem at present is the problem above all problems.

But even a successful solution of the elementary problems of food, clothing, shelter, and even of literacy would in no way signify a complete victory of the new historic principal. That is, socialism. Only a movement of scientific thought on a national scale and the development of a new art would signify that the historic seed has not only grown into a plant, but has even flowered.... #

Having rationalized this economic system, that is, having saturated it with consciousness and planfulness, man will not leave a trace of the present stagnant and worm eaten domestic life. The care for food and education, which weighs like a millstone on the present day family, will be removed and will become the subject of social initiative and of endless collective creativeness.<sup>3</sup>

The Toronto X-comrades insisted that it was "Revolutionary" to go off and do totally apolitical art work, and while it is the right of everyone in the movement to do whatever they want on their own time, when taken into the context as to what raises the level of the mass consciousness, on what contributed to building the movement which must provide

<sup>2</sup> Che Guevara — Socialism and Man

<sup>3</sup> Leon Trotsky — Literature and Revolution p. 315 (Trotsky Anthology)  
# Culture feeds on economics, and a material surplus is necessary, so that culture may grow, develop, and become subtle... Art needs comfort, even abundance.



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the subjective conditions for the establishment of a workers state, ventures of this type are of negligible value. Trotsky summed it up quite well in defining the means to be utilized within the socialist movement in answering:

A means can be justified only by its ends

But the end in turn needs to be justified....  
The end is justified if it leads to increasing the power of man over nature and the abolition of the power of man over man.

That is permissible, we answer, which REALLY leads to the liberation of mankind.... This end can only be achieved through revolution....

Culture and art can indeed play an important part in supplementing the revolution, however, a truly liberated art can never exist within the decadent and decaying social system we are now within. Getting rid of that system must be our first and foremost task.

If we intend to live our lives as revolutionaries, we have to take by necessity an extremely serious view on our lives. Sure, rock concerts are great, the atmosphere generated by the audience, the beauty of the music, etc., but let's face it, it is an artificially created atmosphere, and everyone in it paid hard cash for it, and some big, fat promotion agency is reaping in the profits. So whenever there is a forum or some other activity of the movement which coincides with a rock concert, or some such thing, that you want to go to, you should think, which is more valuable to me personally, as a member of the Young Socialists.

You see, the YS could change its orientation to that of being super "hip", with its members exploring their heads, concentrating on music and abstract art, or taking field trips into the mountains or some such thing, and we might recruit many more, but would it help the revolution? Will it result in a highly trained cadre, knowledgeable of the lessons we can learn from the past and ready to lead the working-class forward to a workers state in the future?

If one really wishes to think of themselves as a revolutionary one must put the revolution first and foremost before all other aspects of his or her life, personal or otherwise, that is not being narrow-minded politically, but quite the contrary. To fail to do this, would be leaning towards petty selfishness. But then of course even your immediate own personal interests as a human being on this planet really lies in making the revolution too. As everything right down to your relationships are to some extent corrupted and contorted by the influence of the dog-eat-dog property profit system.

AN appeal to the young by Peter Kropotkin

If your heart really beats in unison with that of humanity  
If like a true poet you have an ear for life  
Then gazing out upon this sea of sorrow  
Whose tide sweeps around you  
Face to face with those people  
Dying of hunger  
In full view of this desperate battle being fought  
Amid the cries of pain from the conquered  
And the orgies of the victors  
Of heroism in conflict with cowardice



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Of noble determination face to face with contemptable cunning  
You cannot remain neutral

You will come and take the side of the oppressed  
You know that the beautiful, the sublime

The spirit of life itself

Is on the side of those who fight

For light, for humanity, for justice.

It rests with you

To either palter continuously with your conscious

And in the end say one day "Perish Humanity

"provided I have plenty of pleasures and enjoy them in the full."

Or, once more the inevitable alternative

To take part with socialists

And work with them for the complete

Transformation of society

Provided that one reasons honestly

About what passes on around them

And disregards his bourgeois education

That is the logical conclusion

That every intelligent person

Must perforce arrive at.

### DRUGS AND THE YS

Our attitude to drugs, especially the milder marijuana varieties is basically the same as that to any form of escapism, such as alcohol, etc., that is, we have nothing against wine or beer, etc., etc., but we are against any trend towards immersing oneself within it. One cannot make a revolution drunk, nor can one build the revolutionary Trotskyist Vanguard stoned. We have a set stand against the use of drugs by members of our movement mainly because it is illegal and opens the way for unnecessary but harsh repression and publicity that would work against us.

However our objections to dope can go much deeper than this. The attraction to dope by young people is a reflection of their alienation from the social environment around them. As Marxists and revolutionary socialists our perspective is to transform that environment into a society where there is no need for alienation. One can choose to live a life trying (hopelessly) to escape the realities around them, or a life dedicated to changing that reality.

Much of the terror campaign against dope is fictitious, however, the fact remains that thousands and thousands of potentially revolutionary students are caught in the rut of a total existence built around the artificial highs of drugs. Many a head has been screwed. We don't need it. We must keep our feet firmly on the ground with our eyes to the future, we should have confidence in our ideas and understand the strength of our program. Members of the YS/LJS and LSA/LSO lead a much more intense and together life than those searching aimlessly for their next stone.

Soon marijuana will become legalized, as government officials and big business are beginning to see that dope poses no threat to the status quo, as a matter of fact just the opposite is true. Then kids will come to realize that doing up on weed or dropping acid isn't so "revolutionary" after all and you can't change life on earth by cutting yourself off from it, but rather you must come together with people, organize, and work for the socialist revolution.

Our position on dope must be clearly explained to new people coming into our movement, they must understand the movement's current position on it and accept it as a responsibility to themselves, to the movement, and in the last analysis to mankind, to integrate themselves into the movement, by actively participating in internal as well as external activities, by faking it upon themselves to consciously educate themselves, to learn the lessons of struggle and change in the past and to prepare themselves and others for the future.



## THE ROLE OF HIGH SCHOOLERS IN THE EXECUTIVE

The executive council of the YS is chosen democratically by the bi-annual convention, on the basis of their experience, and leadership capabilities, as a rule, this results in the election of comrades who are no longer in the high school milieu. With few exceptions (like Heidi who is in High School and is organizer of the Edmonton local) the leadership of the YS is not composed of high schoolers, yet high schools are a very important part of the YS orientation. We of the Vancouver fraction feel then that more high schoolers in the EC is both desirable and necessary if the executive of the movement is to truly reflect its rank and file. However there are several aspects one must take into account. Not only are older comrades more (as a rule) mature and experienced, but in this period the deepest radicalization is happening on campus. In the future though, as the youth radicalization is beginning to catch fire in the high schools and even Junior high schools we can expect considerable influx of high schoolers joining the ranks of the Trotskyist Youth Vanguard and this will undoubtedly register somewhat on the composition of the executive. So if high school comrades feel there is a real lacking of high schoolers on the EC now the best way to help change that is to go forth and actively engage in struggle within your own high school, gain experience, constantly strive for your own further self-education, read, don't miss Forums, sharpen your political theory in all realms. Be active and speak out internally in the movement, and at the same time, through selling the press by talking to people, by organizing around relevant transitional struggles (such as anti-war, student-faculty control, etc.,) and involving large numbers of students, by not letting yourself get isolated from the student body for your ideas (they may be apathetic now but thanks to on going historical developments you can change that if you try), bring contacts down to forums and socials, let no opportunity pass to build as large and as dynamic a high school fraction as possible, your efforts, the efforts of all high schoolers in the movement will be reflected in the EC's chosen at future conventions, and ultimately in the composition of the LSA which, if we are consistent and committed and serious and educated enough will be the party out of which will be built the actual revolutionary mass working class vanguard. History doesn't wait. It is up to us.



# a strategy for women's liberation.

Our history has been  
stolen from us.

Our heroes died in  
childbirth, from  
peritonitis  
overwork

oppression  
from bottled - up rage.

Our geniuses were  
never taught to  
read or write.

We must discover a  
past adequate  
to our ambitions.

We must create a  
future adequate  
to our needs.

Submitted by the Young Socialists, 334 Queen St west, Toronto 2b.

(Nov. 1970 - Trew)



## A STRATEGY FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The past decade has been one of world-wide struggle for liberation; it has been the most intense period of social convulsion in this century. Peoples and nations around the world are uniting in revolutionary ferment against the oppressive nature of capitalism. In the last 10 years, we have seen a youth movement grow from small-scale rebellions against a number of rotten institutions into a powerful revolt of youth on a global scale.

As each oppressed group in turn discovered the nature of its oppression under capitalism and imperialism, so women have discovered that they too thirst for free and fully human lives, for self-determination and an end to their oppression as women. They are uniting to demand more and more of the rights and human dignity that they have been denied since the dawn of class society. The inability of capitalism to meet the demands and needs of women is becoming ever more apparent to the women's liberation movement; and this movement has enormous potential as a powerful lever to be used against a society which oppresses not just women but the entire human race. The question which socialists must answer is this: how do we help this movement to fulfil its potential? What is the best strategy for the liberation of women?

### EMERGENCE OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The roots of the women's liberation movement lie in the inherent contradictions of capitalism. The possibilities now exist for women to have greater freedom than ever before and yet they remain in shackles. A shorter period of a woman's lifespan is devoted to her traditional role as childbearer and childrearer, and the material means exist to liberate women from all the most onerous aspects of childcare and housework. Medical science is now capable of giving women control over their bodies to a degree never before possible in human history. More and more women are entering institutions of higher learning and acquiring professional skills.

Yet these developments only sharpen the contrast between the potential for the liberation of women and the actuality of their oppression. Women continue to be defined almost solely through their roles as wife and mother, and childcare and housework remain almost totally the realm of "woman's world". Women are used as guinea pigs by the profit-hungry drug monopolies and are denied the right to choose when and whether they will bear a child. University degrees and professional training lead women to low-paying jobs and to constant confrontations with sexual discrimination. More and more women are coming to understand their profound social, economic and psychological oppression and the narrow, restricted future which lies before them in this society. It is no accident that the women's liberation movement began among students, professional and more materially privileged women; they are in the best position to sense the appalling discrepancies between their potential and the actual situation and they are the freest to act against these injustices.

### POTENTIAL OF THE MOVEMENT

The women's liberation movement has the potential to reach out to all women, and to draw them into an anti-capitalist struggle and towards the socialist solution. The movement can reach far beyond its present boundaries to the working class woman who are by far the most oppressed in our society. They are the hardest hit by wage discrimination and are



used as a pool of cheap labour; they are greatest victims of the oppressive abortion laws and of the lack of freely available birth control devices and information; and it is they who suffer most harshly under the double burden of full-time worker and full-time homemaker.

No series of reforms, however far-reaching, can eradicate women's oppression, for it is deeply embedded in the foundations of the capitalist system itself. As the movement grows, more and more women are becoming aware of their common enemy -- aware that it is the capitalist system which sustains and benefits from their oppression.

## PROGRAM

The demands upon which the women's liberation movement must be built are an essential aspect of this discussion. Unless the demands we put forward speak to the real needs of women, hit at the real source of their oppression, we will be unable to mobilize the women of this country to propel the struggle forward.

Four themes stand as the programmatic basis of the movement; they are

- 1) Women must have complete control of their bodies. Freely available birth control information and devices. Government research to provide safe contraceptives. The removal of all restrictions on abortion - free abortion on demand.
- 2) Special measures to ensure that women have complete access to educational facilities. Abolition of fees, and an income for students. Universal coeducation. Special encouragement in analytical fields. Write women back into history - tell the truth about women. Abolition of all forms of sex discrimination in the schools.
- 3) Women must be freed from their traditional responsibility for the child. The government should provide free 24 hour child care centres which would permit women to seek employment outside the home. A state wage for those who choose to be homemakers.
- 4) Complete equality for women at work. Equal pay for equal work. Paid maternity leave. Preferential hiring and admission to certain types of educational programs to compensate for women's secondary status and psychological conditioning.

This programmatic basis of the Women's Liberation Movement speaks to the real needs of women in this country and throughout the world, and it is around these demands that the movement will develop in an anti-capitalist direction.

Our task as revolutionaries then is to put forward demands which will mobilize these women and aim the struggle in a revolutionary direction; in short, to set women in motion against their enemy, the capitalist system. We must help to bring this movement to full consciousness of itself and its power, and lead it to victory.

## HOW WILL THE MOVEMENT BE BUILT?

Although innumerable women have been affected to some extent by the rapidly growing women's liberation movement, few have become actively



involved in its ongoing activities. To enable them to do so, it is first of all essential that a women's liberation group be internally democratic; the general membership must have control, and the leadership must be responsible to that membership; i.e., accountable to it for its actions.

Wherever there are clique leaderships or inner circles of decision-makers, new women, and women with different political perspectives from the self-appointed leadership, will never become integrated into the group or into the movement. The problem of new women coming to one or two meetings, never to be seen again, has been a perennial occurrence in the Vancouver Women's Caucus and other groups for these very reasons.

Just as women must not in any way be excluded from the decision-making process of the movement, so we must build the movement on a non-exclusionist basis in every respect. We must seek to bring all women, regardless of their political ideas, into the struggle around the demands of the women's liberation movement. We have to have confidence in women, in their ability to draw the necessary conclusions, on the basis of their experience in the movement, about the nature of their oppression and the society which is responsible for it.

A recent experience in Vancouver Women's Caucus is instructive on the question of exclusion. Recently members of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action in Vancouver, who for months previously had participated in the work of the Caucus, were expelled at the instigation of the clique leadership of the Caucus. That expulsion was well documented and it is not the purpose of this paper to weigh the arguments in the case. But one thing is clear. The kind of baiting and exclusion carried on in the Vancouver Women's Caucus is incompatible with the kind of movement it is necessary to build to liberate women in this country. Taken to its logical conclusion, exclusion can only lead to thought control, to the repression of ideas which do not coincide with those of the leadership, and finally to the total elimination of anyone who differs with the prevailing philosophy. These are the tactics of the ruling class itself. We must learn to build a movement which can unite all women, not fragment them even further. We must build a movement in which various ideas for program and actions can compete openly and honestly for the support of the majority of women.

Along with the fight for democracy in our own ranks, our strategy must embody the concept of a mass, action-oriented movement. This is the concept of getting people into motion, into action--not talking down to them, but organizing actions which are able to give expression to the mass opposition to the policies of the ruling class. Through their involvement in action, women can deepen their understanding of those issues. If there's one thing the ruling class in this country understands it's thousands upon thousands of people organized and in motion, demonstrating in the streets, demanding change. This challenge to the legitimacy of their power is in fact the only logic that they do understand. Our actions must clearly place the responsibility for the oppression of women where it belongs, on the ruling class and the government of this country.

In the short history of the movement we have caught glimpses of the impact that the ideas of women's liberation can have when it moves out with bold mass actions. To date, the most effective, most powerful development has most decidedly been the abortion campaign and the Caravan



to Ottawa. Free abortion on demand has emerged as one of the central mobilizing demands of the movement. It was around this demand that the movement took a decisive step forward and launched the first cross-country action involving women's liberation groups from different areas and with different philosophies; and not even the elements of misleadership in the campaign could deter a mass response to this demand. At every stop that the Caravan made, large numbers of women expressed support for the action, and began to identify with the women's liberation movement as a whole. The eyes of thousands of Canadians were focused on the movement while we were in Ottawa--they knew of the action, and many supported and defended it.

One of the most important questions facing the movement today is whether or not we will take advantage of the momentum that has been built up around the call for free abortion on demand, using it to escalate the struggle and to draw in new layers of women. It seems clear that if we were to continue to make the issue of abortion a key focus of women's liberation activity in the coming year, important gains can be made for the movement.

This issue of abortion is one that affects almost every woman in this society regardless of class, occupation or age, and for that reason thousands of women can be involved in the fight for free abortion on demand. Also, victory in this struggle will help to undermine one of the chief rationalizations for the oppression of women--our vulnerability to unplanned pregnancy. It will help women realize how powerful they are when they unite in common action and provide an enormous impetus to the women's liberation struggle, encouraging women to continue to fight around other issues as well.

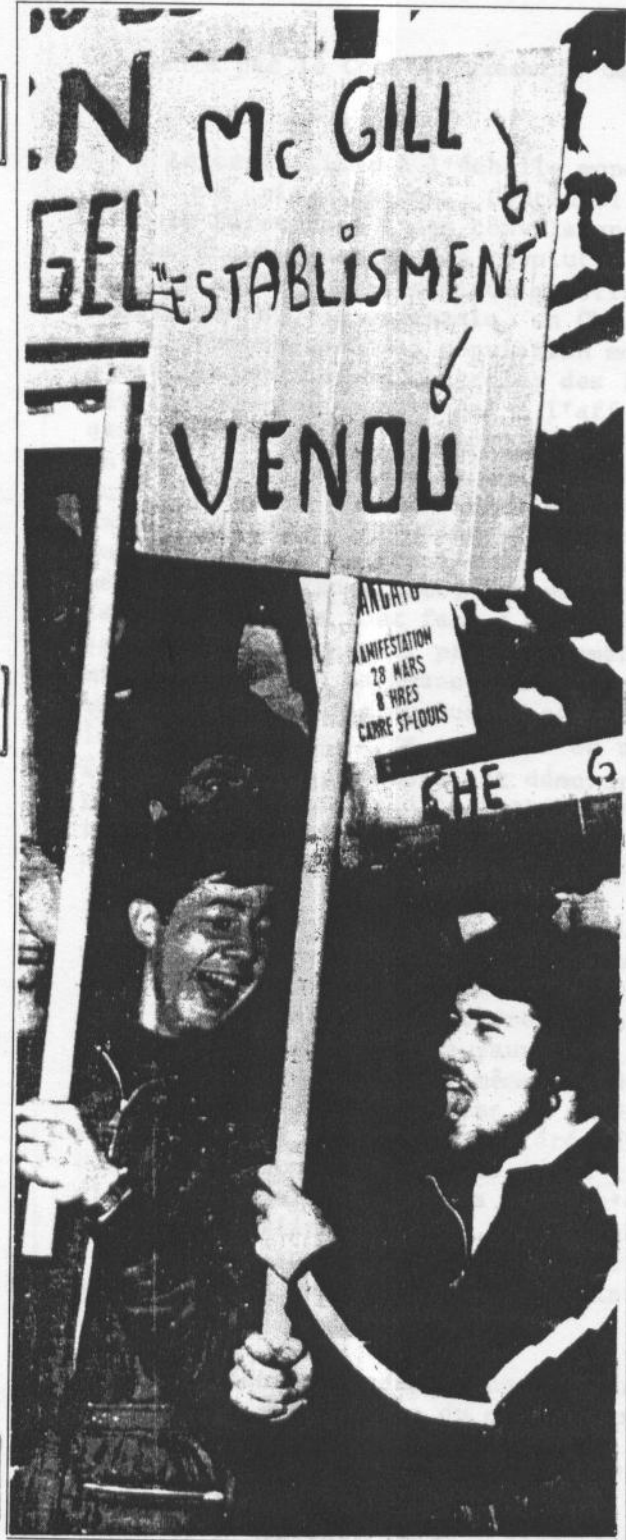
Finally, the growing movement for women's liberation must look for all the support it can find. It must build bridges to other organizations and movements fighting on behalf of oppressed people and enlist their aid. In particular, our movement should appeal to the organized trade union movement and the New Democratic Party, while at the same time maintaining our independent mass movement character. This orientation will not, as some fear, narrow women's concern with ending their own oppression but on the contrary it will give them a wider comprehension of the nature of that oppression and how to end it.

In summary, these are some of the enormous challenges facing the women's liberation movement today. Their greatness reflects the vast potential of the movement and the importance of our task. In the last analysis, our confidence in our ability to meet these challenges is bound up with our confidence in our own humanity, in our capacity to build a society which is based on human needs.

If the demand for women's equality is democratic, the call for total liberation can only be socialist. Under present conditions, the struggle for the expansion of freedom on any front and for any sector of the population cannot be separated from the anti-capitalist movement of the working class throughout the world. Only a socialist revolution can create the conditions for the liberation of all humanity from such deep sexual, psychological, social and economic oppression. And it is that liberation which our movement has begun and will continue to struggle for. And we will not fail.

(Nov. '70 submitted by Young Socialists, based on paper presented by Mary Trew to Socialist Students' Conference.)





# Le Defi de la Nouvelle Radicalisation

Brouillon de résolution présenté par le Conseil exécutif central du Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes au Congrès de 1970 du YS/LJS.

Un des bulletins de résolutions et de discussion de la série distribuée avant le Congrès afin que la discussion sur les perspectives et les activités politiques soit la plus étendue possible.

Les jeunes socialistes de tous les coins du pays sont vivement priés de participer à cette discussion par écrit. Envoyez vos contributions au YS/LJS, Bureau central, 334 ouest, rue Queen, Toronto.

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## **Le défi de la Nouvelle Radicalisation**

**Présenté par le Conseil Exécutif Central de la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes au Congrès de 1970 -- Bulletin Interne Vol. 7 No. 1 1970**

Le capitalisme à l'échelle mondiale subit une crise intense. Continuellement il doit faire face à des convulsions, des crises économiques et des révolutions. Par des soulèvements sociaux massifs en Russie, en Europe orientale, en Chine et à Cuba, un tiers de la population mondiale s'est libérée de son contrôle; des luttes révolutionnaires continuent à l'affronter dans tous les coins du globe. Au Vietnam, en Palestine, en Bolivie, partout dans le monde colonial, la puissance impériale du capitalisme se voit défiée et remise en question. En même temps, à l'intérieur même de leurs frontières, les pays capitalistes avancés font face à une radicalisation sans précédent, principalement parmi la jeunesse. La France en 1968, le mouvement d'occupation au Québec et le soulèvement des étudiants aux E.U. en réaction à l'invasion du Cambodge ont démontrés le potentiel de cette radicalisation — une radicalisation qu'aucune classe capitaliste ne s'est avérée capable de contenir.

La crise du système impérialiste s'est fait ressentir durement au Canada. La classe dirigeante démontre de plus en plus son incapacité à résoudre des problèmes aussi évidents que la pauvreté, le chômage et l'inflation — même des «doctorats» se trouvent incapables de se dénicher un emploi dans cette société «d'abondance.» Tous les efforts de la classe dirigeante pour soulager la crise n'ont réussi qu'à l'intensifier. Malgré tous ses livres blancs et ces commissions royales, la pauvreté continue d'exister et le chômage d'augmenter.

La jeunesse canadienne se ressent directement de la crise du capitalisme moderne — c'est leur avenir qui est en jeu. La radicalisation croissante de la jeunesse qui s'exprime par un rejet général de l'autorité et de l'ordre établi, découle du fait que cette société est incapable de satisfaire les besoins humains. Partout se retrouve une recherche de nouvelles voies, de nouvelles idées — une recherche de changements dans tous les aspects de notre société, de changements qui ne peuvent attendre.

Le capitalisme promet la lune mais ne peut tenir ses engagements. Bien plus, il déforme et pervertit le potentiel de l'humanité. L'énergie nucléaire pourrait enrichir le monde entier — le capitalisme préfère produire la bombe. Les méthodes modernes de contrôle des naissances et l'avortement pourraient libérer les femmes et leur permettre de contrôler leurs corps — plutôt, par des attitudes hypocrites et des lois archaïques, on en prive celles qui en auraient le plus besoin, des jeunes femmes non-mariées. Les techniques agricoles pourraient rendre possible la disparition de la famine — plutôt, le gouvernement paie les fermiers afin qu'ils ne cultivent pas leur blé.

Le capitalisme met le profit avant le bien-être des gens. Il a démontré sa volonté d'utiliser la répression, la guerre et le génocide pour se maintenir. La minuscule minorité qui possède et contrôle l'économie transforme tout en marchandise. Vous n'êtes pas un être humain: vous êtes un consommateur, un employé, un corps, une statistique. Tout ce qui ne peut être acheté et vendu est soit sans importance soit dangereux pour le système.



La rébellion de la jeunesse découle directement de cette aliénation et de cette enrégimentation produites par le capitalisme. Elle prend des formes variées, au fur et à mesure que la jeunesse se radicalise autour de ses propres expériences et qu'elle proteste contre ces aspects du système qui l'affecte physiquement et émotionnellement. Les nouveaux radicaux s'attaquent aux aspects les plus brutaux et les plus déshumanisants du système — à la guerre et au racisme, à l'oppression des femmes, à la destruction de notre environnement. Ils exigent l'auto-détermination pour eux-mêmes, pour les Vietnamiens, pour les femmes — pour tous les opprimés. Leurs revendications pour la libération humaine, même si elles ne reflètent pas une compréhension complète de la nature du problème et de sa solution, possèdent une dynamique révolutionnaire, leur orientation est entièrement anti-capitaliste.

### **Le Québec Avant-Garde de la Radicalisation**

La profondeur de la crise du capitalisme est révélée de la façon la plus flagrante par son incapacité de satisfaire les aspirations nationales des Québécois. Depuis des décades les capitalismes anglo-canadien et américain oppriment le Québec en tant que nation. Ils ont utilisé le Québec comme source de super-profits et de main-d'oeuvre à bon marché. La domination du Québec par le capital anglophone a produit la plus profonde radicalisation au Canada, peut-être même du continent. Années après années des protestations massives submergent le Québec.

Les étudiants ont été à l'avant-garde de ces luttes exigeant un système scolaire unilingue français et des facilités éducationnelles adéquates. Ils ont été propulsés dans ces luttes par la conscience que ce système, même après leurs études, n'a rien à leur offrir.

Trudeau a répondu à la force croissance du mouvement indépendantiste par la plus violente répression que ce pays ait connue depuis des décades. La loi des mesurés de guerre a tenté de décapiter et de détruire le mouvement indépendantiste par la suspension de toutes les procédures démocratiques normales. 7,500 soldats ont occupé le Québec, confirmant la détermination du gouvernement fédéral de se maintenir au pouvoir, quel que soit le coût. La Loi des Mesures de Guerre illustre sans équivoque que le Québec est une nation d'otages, enlevée il y a 200 ans.

Ils parlent de minorité, mettant la démocratie en danger; la plus dangereuse, la plus anti-démocratique des minorités: dans ce pays est celle de la classe capitaliste et de ses hommes de paille au parlement.

La radicalisation des Québécois, une radicalisation qui s'exprime dans la revendication pour l'indépendance constitue la plus grande menace à la continuation du règne de cette classe. Indépendance de tout ce que représentent les "boss" anglophones et leurs représentants d'Ottawa. Le capital parle anglais au Québec: conséquemment, le mouvement contre le capitalisme s'articule comme un mouvement pour des écoles unilingues, pour la préservation de la langue et de la culture québécoise, pour l'indépendance. Seul le socialisme -- la remise des richesses de la nation québécoise aux mains des Québécois — peut rendre réelle et significative l'indépendance politique.



Aux revendications des Québécois, la classe dirigeante n'a d'autre réponse que la force brutale. Afin de protéger la stabilité elle a dû éliminer les libertés civiles -- c'est l'expression la plus claire du dilemme du capitalisme canadien.

Trudeau a tenté d'arrêter le mouvement indépendantiste: il a, au contraire, accru l'hostilité des Québécois à l'égard du système fédéral et ouvert les yeux de plusieurs jeunes Canadiens-anglais quant à la vraie nature et à l'importance de la lutte des Québécois. Le prestige de Trudeau, son image de "swinger" progressiste est à son plus bas.

Le socialisme présente la seule alternative à l'oppression et à la répression capitaliste — et pour le Québec et pour le Canada-anglais. La société capitaliste a créé les moyens nécessaires à la satisfaction des besoins de l'humanité — mais seul le socialisme peut faire fonctionner ces moyens. Les immenses richesses actuellement contrôlées par une minorité doivent être remises entre les mains de la majorité.

Pour débiter, nous aurons à éliminer la duplication et le gaspillage, la faim, la pauvreté et l'ignorance engendrés par la soit-disant entreprise libre. Ceci n'est possible qu'au moyen d'une économie planifiée où bureaux, écoles et usines seront soumis à la contrôle démocratique des travailleurs et des étudiants. Ce n'est qu'en établissant une société qui peut affirmer que le bien-être des gens importe plus que le profit que nous pourrions assurer l'auto-détermination et la libération de tous.

Mais il ne suffit pas d'être conscient du problème et de sa solution. Nous devons être en mesure de réaliser cette solution. Le capitalisme a engendré la crise qui peut aboutir au socialisme, à assurer l'existence des conditions matérielles qui rendent le socialisme réalisable. Mais seul un mouvement de masse dirigé par des socialistes révolutionnaires, peut assurer que le changement du capitalisme au socialisme se réalisera.

Ceci ne peut se faire sans organisation, sans programme, sans stratégie — tous ayant leur fonction de détruire la vieille société et d'en bâtir une nouvelle, et c'est le but que s'est fixé la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialists).

## **Une Stratégie d'Action de Masse**

Un changement social fondamental — le socialisme — exige une révolution, un bouleversement de toute la structure sociale, mené à bien par l'action consciente de la majorité des Canadiens. Que ce soit au moyen d'une quelconque forme de "coup" ou au moyen de réformes, aucune minorité, aucune élite, ne peut accomplir ce changement.

La participation de la LJS/YS dans la construction et la direction de mouvements de masses, se base sur la reconnaissance de ce fait. Le système est construit de telle sorte qu'il maintient les gens divisés et isolés, qu'il les maintient dans le carcan des canaux et des voies déjà établis. L'action de masse menée indépendamment et directement défiant la classe dirigeante, présente au capitalisme un défi qu'il ne peut coopter. La puissance des opprimés — travailleurs, femmes, étudiants, Québécois, peuples indigènes — réside dans leur absence d'intérêts dans le maintien



du système actuel, dans leur nombre et dans leur capacité d'agir collectivement pour défendre leurs intérêts par leurs propres expériences.

Nous reconnaissons en même temps qu'un mouvement: socialiste de masse ne pourra s'établir que dans la mesure où les gens reconnaîtront sa nécessité. Par leur participation à des actions de masse dirigées contre le système, ils viendront à comprendre la nature de ce système et la nécessité de le transformer. Le grand nombre d'étudiants qui sont arrivés à des conclusions socialistes par leur participation au mouvement anti-guerre et au mouvement de libération des femmes illustre ceci de façon concrète.

Ce qui éprouve la valeur d'un mouvement révolutionnaire et de son programme, c'est sa participation dans les mouvements de masse — son habileté à leur offrir l'orientation juste et au moyen de ce processus de gagner les gens au socialisme. Au cours des dernières années nous avons vu dépérir et disparaître nombre d'organisations qui rejetaient l'action de masse; aujourd'hui encore il subsiste un certain nombre de groupes, y compris des groupuscules maoïstes, des débris de la nouvelle gauche et le parti communiste qui s'opposent constamment à une stratégie d'action de masse. Ils choisissent plutôt soit de lutter pour des miettes de réformes, soit de rechercher des raccourcis pour aboutir à la révolution. Pour sa part, la LJS/YS s'est établie aux toutes premières lignes de combat des plus importantes luttes de masse se déroulant actuellement au Canada, précisément parce qu'elle est consciente que l'action de masse est essentielle dans la lutte pour le socialisme.

## **La Libération de la Femme**

Dans le mouvement de libération des femmes, notre orientation de construire un mouvement capable d'unir toutes les femmes, quelles que soient leur opinions sur d'autres questions, est absolument nécessaire si ce mouvement veut réaliser pleinement son potentiel révolutionnaire. L'énorme succès de la caravane pour les avortements ne nous a donné qu'un simple aperçu du potentiel d'un mouvement établi sur cette base. Récemment, nous avons vu une poussée de certaines ultra-gauchistes visant à dévier le mouvement des actions de masse vers la création d'une organisation de femmes composées uniquement de révolutionnaires avouées. Non seulement cette perspective isole-t-elle le mouvement, le rendant ainsi impuissant, mais en plus elle empêche des femmes de devenir révolutionnaire par leur participation dans la lutte contre leur oppression. Les actions du 14 février pour l'abrogation des lois sur l'avortement se contreposent à la stratégie des ultra-gauchistes et joueront un rôle crucial dans l'éducation et dans l'extension d'une perspective d'action de masse au sein du mouvement.

## **Le Mouvement Anti-guerre**

Le rôle joué par la LJS/YS dans la construction du mouvement anti-guerre est bien connu. Les slogans que nous avons depuis longtemps mis de l'avant — "retrait immédiat des troupes U.S.", "Fin à la complicité canadienne", se sont définitivement démontrés les seuls slogans capables de construire un mouvement de masse tout en s'opposant à l'impérialisme américain et à ses partisans canadiens. Par ces revendications transitoires — revendications qui peuvent toucher le niveau de conscience politique capitaliste — nous sommes devenus les dirigeants du mouvement anti-guerre dans tous les coins du pays.



Notre rôle dans l'appui à la révolution vietnamienne contraste avec l'attitude des ultra-gauchistes qui ont constamment oscillé entre ignorer complètement ce mouvement et tenter de l'amener à des confrontations violentes avec les flics; il contraste également avec celui des réformistes comme le parti communiste qui a tenté de transformer ce mouvement en groupe de pression de gauche sur la classe dirigeante. Ce n'est qu'au moyen de l'action de masse indépendante que les dirigeants du Canada et des Etats-Unis peuvent être obligés à cesser leur agression au Vietnam — une victoire pour les vietnamiens seraient une victoire pour tous ceux qui veulent construire un monde meilleur.

## **L'américanisation**

La stratégie de l'action de masse est d'une importance particulière dans la lutte contre l'accroissement de la domination américaine sur les écoles. Ce sentiment anti-impérialiste est l'un des principaux résultats de la crise mondiale de l'impérialisme et un facteur important dans la radicalisation des étudiants canadiens.

L'impérialisme U.S. domine tout le monde capitaliste. Toute classe capitaliste nationale doit parvenir à une entente avec ces gendarmes internationaux. Très peu d'entre elles ont pu développer des relations aussi douillettes que celles qui existent entre les dirigeants canadiens et américains. Les E.U. envahissent un pays; le Canada explique qu'il s'agit d'une action destinée à maintenir la paix. Trudeau impose les mesures de guerre; Nixon lui lâche un coup de fil pour savoir s'il n'aurait pas besoin d'aide. Le capitalisme a totalement adopté les valeurs, les concepts et les objectifs de l'impérialisme américain. Il en résulte que toutes les institutions capitalistes de ce pays, et plus particulièrement les institutions d'éducation sont au service de l'impérialisme américain par arrangement spécial avec la classe capitaliste canadienne.

Pour répondre à ce problème, le caucus "Waffle" au sein du Nouveau Parti Démocratique ainsi que d'autres éléments ont proposés un quota qui restreindrait le nombre de professeurs américains qui auraient la permission d'enseigner au Canada. Mais cette proposition ne remet pas efficacement en question les racines du problème de l'américanisation. La lutte contre l'américanisation des universités c'est la lutte contre le contrôle capitaliste des universités.

La seule réponse efficace à l'américanisation réside dans l'action étudiante de masse. Des revendications telles "Fin à la complicité des campus avec l'effort de guerre américain" et "Aucune recherche, aucune ressource stratégique pour la machine de guerre U.S.", affrontent le problème directement et peuvent amener des mobilisations de masse contre l'américanisation, tout en affrontant la classe capitaliste et ses universités au Canada même.

Les universités doivent être arrachés du contrôle d'une minorité affamée de profit et mises au service de la lutte révolutionnaire. Le programme de la LJS/YS met de l'avant des revendications qui appellent à l'expulsion des représentants du grand capital au sein des conseils d'administration et au contrôle de l'université (y compris sur le contenu des cours, sur les engagements et les congédiements) par les étudiants, professeurs et autres membres du personnel.



Nous ne voulons pas de cours qui soient abstraitement "Canadiens" -- nous voulons entendre la véritable histoire de la classe ouvrière canadienne, des peuples indigènes, du mouvement suffragiste: l'histoire que le capitalisme cache. Nous voulons une université ouverte à tous et des allocations pour tous les étudiants. C'est par l'action de masse suscitée autour de telles revendications que l'université peut être transformée en centre organisateur pour la lutte contre l'impérialisme U.S. et son partenaire junior canadien.

## **Réponse à la Loi des Mesures de Guerre**

Les mouvements de masse existant actuellement ne sont qu'un début. Nous pouvons nous attendre, pour la prochaine période, à la naissance de mobilisations de masse autour de questions diverses -- problèmes étudiants locaux, problèmes sociaux domestiques tels la pollution et plus particulièrement, autour de la défense des libertés civiles et de la démocratie. Notre réponse aux lois des mesures de guerre offre un modèle exemplaire de la façon dont la LJS/YS agit en vue de la construction de mouvements de masse.

Bien que Trudeau aie réussi temporairement à démobiliser le mouvement indépendantiste Québécois en emprisonnant 400 de ses dirigeants, la LJS a immédiatement réagi en défiant la répression de Trudeau. En plein milieu de la répression, malgré l'arrestation de deux des gens clés de notre campagne électorale, nous avons intensifié la campagne LSO-LJS pour la mairie en la transformant en campagne anti-répression.

Nous avons établi des lignes de piquetage devant des casernes, distribué illégalement des tracts électoraux, organisé des meetings de protestation en plein milieu de la répression. Un numéro spécial de Jeune Garde fut publié. Nous avons participé au lancement d'un très large comité de défense. Partout nous avons clairement fait comprendre que seules des actions publiques de masse pouvaient défaire la répression. Pour toute une période, nous avons été le seul groupe à aborder cette attaque de front, mais aujourd'hui des protestations contre les procès des accusés en vertu des mesures de guerre se manifestent sur une large échelle.

En même temps, au Canada anglais les Young Socialists étaient parmi les premiers à contrer le chauvinisme sur lequel Trudeau comptait tant. A peine quelques heures après l'imposition des mesures de guerre nous tenions les premières manifestations sur plusieurs campus. Nous avons lancé des comités pour la défense des libertés civiles; nous avons envoyé des conférenciers dans l'est du Canada et aux États-Unis. Nos co-penseurs aux E.U. ont organisés des manifestations devant les consulats canadiens.

Le maintien de cette activité et le lancement d'une campagne de défense unitaire des Québécois menacés d'emprisonnement pour leurs idées est la première priorité de la LJS/YS à ce moment. Défendre ces accusés c'est défendre la liberté de parole dans ce pays -- une liberté qui n'existe pas à cause d'une quelconque attitude benévole de la bourgeoisie mais une liberté qui a été gagnée par les luttes des travailleurs canadiens.



## **L'action Politique de Classe Ouvrière**

La victoire de la stratégie d'action de masse pour le socialisme dépend de deux facteurs étroitement liés: l'entrée de la classe ouvrière dans la lutte pour le socialisme et la création d'un leadership révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière.

Ceux qui rejettent la classe ouvrière en tant que force révolutionnaire potentielle rejettent le socialisme en tant que perspective réaliste. Le développement d'un mouvement étudiant révolutionnaire de masse jouera un grand rôle dans le processus de transformation du système. Mais seule la classe ouvrière, qui comprend la vaste majorité de la population jouit de la position économique et sociale stratégique nécessaire pour faire disparaître le capitalisme et pour organiser démocratiquement la société dans l'intérêt de la vaste majorité des canadiens.

Il est conséquemment crucialement (décisivement —ed.) nécessaire pour les étudiants révolutionnaires de s'allier aux secteurs politiquement les plus avancés de la classe ouvrière et d'appuyer l'action politique indépendante des travailleurs. Au Canada anglais ceci signifie premièrement appuyer le Nouveau Parti Démocratique en tant que parti politique du mouvement ouvrier organisé.

Mais tout en appuyant le NPD en tant qu'expression d'une rupture avec les partis politiques du grand capital, nous devons reconnaître que ni le leadership du NPD, soucieux de l'"image" qu'il projette, ni le programme du NPD, qui vise à réformer le capitalisme, n'amèneront le socialisme au Canada. C'est pourquoi nous combattons pour un programme socialiste au sein du NPD et que nous sommes conscients de la nécessité de construire un parti révolutionnaire. Un tel parti doit posséder un programme et une organisation apte à affronter la bourgeoisie partout où c'est nécessaire. Il doit plonger des racines dans la classe ouvrière. Au Canada, la League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière avec son programme et son organisation possède une telle perspective.

Comme le déclare la constitution de la LJS/YS, nous sommes politiquement pleinement solidaires de la LSO/LSA. Nous faisons partie d'un mouvement commun ayant pour but de construire le parti révolutionnaire. Dans plusieurs régions la LJS/YS a joué un rôle clé dans l'établissement de branches de la LSO/LSA. Inversement, l'expérience et l'appui de la LSO-LSA ont été essentiels à la construction de la LJS/YS.

## **Une Stratégie Internationale**

La jeunesse commence à affronter le capitalisme à l'échelle internationale. Le développement d'une stratégie internationale destinée à rencontrer et à défaire l'impérialisme sur tous les fronts, constitue une base essentielle pour la construction d'un mouvement révolutionnaire. La lutte des vietnamiens, la lutte des palestiniens, la lutte des québécois, la lutte de la jeunesse canadienne-anglaise — toutes font parties d'une poussée anti-impérialiste et anti-capitaliste généralisée. Notre perspective internationale ne relève pas du sentimentalisme: elle se fonde sur la reconnaissance du fait que seule une stratégie internationale concrète peut établir le socialisme.

C'est pour cette raison que nous bâtissons par exemple le mouvement contre l'impérialisme au Vietnam. C'est pour la même raison que nous sommes une organisation sympathisante de la Quatrième Internationale, parti mondial de la révolution socialiste, fondée



par Léon Trotsky en 1938. Notre organisation et toutes nos activités visent un seul but -- un Canada socialiste et un Québec socialiste dans un monde socialiste.

Dans les dix dernières années depuis sa fondation la LJS/YS s'est transformée d'une poignée de militants en une organisation implantée dans tout le Canada. Depuis notre dernier congrès, plus particulièrement, nous avons connu une croissance importante qui reflète l'impact de la nouvelle radicalisation.

A Fredericton, le leadership des "New Brunswick Socialists", et à Saskatoon, le leadership du "Committee for a Socialist Movement", se sont joints à la LJS/YS. Ce processus — ces décisions par des groupes déjà existants qui considèrent nécessaires de se joindre à la LJS/YS — n'est qu'une petite indication de la radicalisation croissante. Et c'est vers cette radicalisation que la LJS/YS est orientée.

Nombre d'expériences indiquent quel est le potentiel existant. A Montréal la campagne Léger a marqué une percée pour notre mouvement, établissant de nouveaux contacts et nous ouvrant de nouvelles opportunités sur une très large échelle. La campagne symbolisait l'opposition des Québécois aux lois des mesures de guerre et le vote reçu reflétait cette situation. Sur la côte sud du Nouveau Brunswick un groupe de jeunes travailleurs et d'étudiants du secondaire se sont joints à la LJS/YS à la suite de leurs expériences dans une ville possédée par une compagnie.

La tournée de Penny Simpson, membre dirigeante de la LJS et victime de la répression sous les mesures de guerre est un des indices le plus spectaculaire des possibilités qui s'offrent à nous. Sa tournée s'est avérée la tournée la mieux réussie que nous avons jamais organisée au Canada. Des réunions de plusieurs centaines d'étudiants constituaient la norme. A St-John's à Terre-Neuve, 1,500 étudiants — 25% de la totalité des étudiants de l'endroit — ont assistés à une réunion. Partout, nous sommes entrés en contact avec de nouveaux radicaux intéressés à se renseigner et à se joindre à la LJS/YS. Souvent, dans des villes où aucune organisation radicale ne s'était jamais manifesté auparavant. A Peterborough, en Ontario, par exemple, la tournée a occasionné le lancement d'un important local YS sur le campus de l'université Trent.

## **Les tâches de la LJS/YS**

La nouvelle radicalisation donne à notre mouvement des possibilités de croissance sur une échelle telle qu'il n'en a jamais précédemment connu. Réaliser ces possibilités est la tâche la plus importante de la LJS/YS dans cette période.

Ce n'est pas une tâche qui peut être retardée ou remise. De toutes les organisations radicales, nous sommes celle qui est dans la meilleure position pour organiser ces nouveaux radicaux. Nous possédons le programme qui peut satisfaire leurs besoins et nous avons l'organisation la plus grosse et la plus active au pays. Mais aucune organisation révolutionnaire ne peut se reposer sur ses lauriers. A moins que nous ne procédions maintenant à offrir à ces nouveaux radicaux le programme et l'organisation du socialisme révolutionnaire, la radicalisation pourrait être divisé ou dissipée par la bourgeoisie ou par d'autres courants de gauche.

## **L'organisation Régional**

Il n'y a pas une seule ville au pays ou un local de la LJS/YS ne peut être établi. Concrètement, cela signifie se doter d'organisateurs itinérants permanents dans les régions où c'est possible et plus généralement, se préparer à intervenir très rapidement dans de nouvelles régions.

L'organisation régionale implique plus qu'un simple recrutement; elle s'implique aussi



l'éducation et la consolidation de nouveaux locaux. Le rôle du leadership pan-canadien dans le développement d'une compréhension commune de notre programme et de notre organisation est particulièrement important. Il le deviendra davantage dans la prochaine période.

Dans une période de croissance, une attention particulière doit être portée à l'éducation. Les idées du Marxisme, telles que développées pendant ce dernier siècle sont les seuls guides fiables pour l'action révolutionnaire. Seule une activité éducative systématique (menée au moyen de lectures, de cours de formation, de cours internes, etc.) peut assurer que le mouvement sera équipé pour relever les plus grands défis qui nous feront face dans l'avenir. Nous visons à ce que chaque membre de la LJS/YS soit familier avec notre programme et capables de l'appliquer dans diverses situations.

Le plus grand potentiel pour le développement du socialisme révolutionnaire existe au Québec, plus particulièrement, par l'intermédiaire des écoles secondaires et des CEGEPS. *Jeune Garde* maintenant un "tabloid" bimestriel jouera un rôle clé dans ce processus. Montréal, appuyé et aidé par tout le mouvement pan-canadien doit devenir le centre d'organisation pour toute la nation québécoise.

Dans les régions où nous sommes déjà établis, nous devons déployer nos efforts à rejoindre et à organiser la jeunesse radicalisée. Le nombre de ventes du *Young Socialist*, d'activités sociales, d'activités éducatives, doit augmenter. Notre implication dans les mouvements de masse, en particulier, la défense de libertés civiles au Québec, le mouvement anti-guerre, le mouvement de libération des femmes et le mouvement contre l'américanisation de l'éducation, doit continuer à être centrale à nos activités. Notre mouvement doit refléter l'esprit créateur et dynamique de la nouvelle radicalisation: furieux, irrévérencieuse, et par dessus tout, révolutionnaire.

Nous ne construisons pas la LJS/YS simplement pour accroître le nombre des membres dans nos rangs. Nous tentons de construire un mouvement de dirigeants, capables de diriger le mouvement étudiant dans les luttes pour le socialisme dans ce pays. Notre structure organisationnelle centraliste-démocratique, impliquent une démocratie interne complète combinée à une unité d'action complète, joue un rôle vital dans ce processus.

La croissance numérique et l'extension de l'influence de la LJS/YS depuis la dernière année, n'est qu'une indication des possibilités que nous sont offertes. Notre tâche est de réaliser ce potentiel.

(fin)



# The Challenge of the New Radicalization

Draft resolution submitted by the Central Executive Council of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes to the YS/LJS 1970 Convention.

One of a series of resolutions and discussion bulletins, circulated prior to the convention to ensure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities.

Young socialists from across the country are urged to participate in the written discussion and to attend the convention. Send contributions to YS/LJS Central Office, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto.

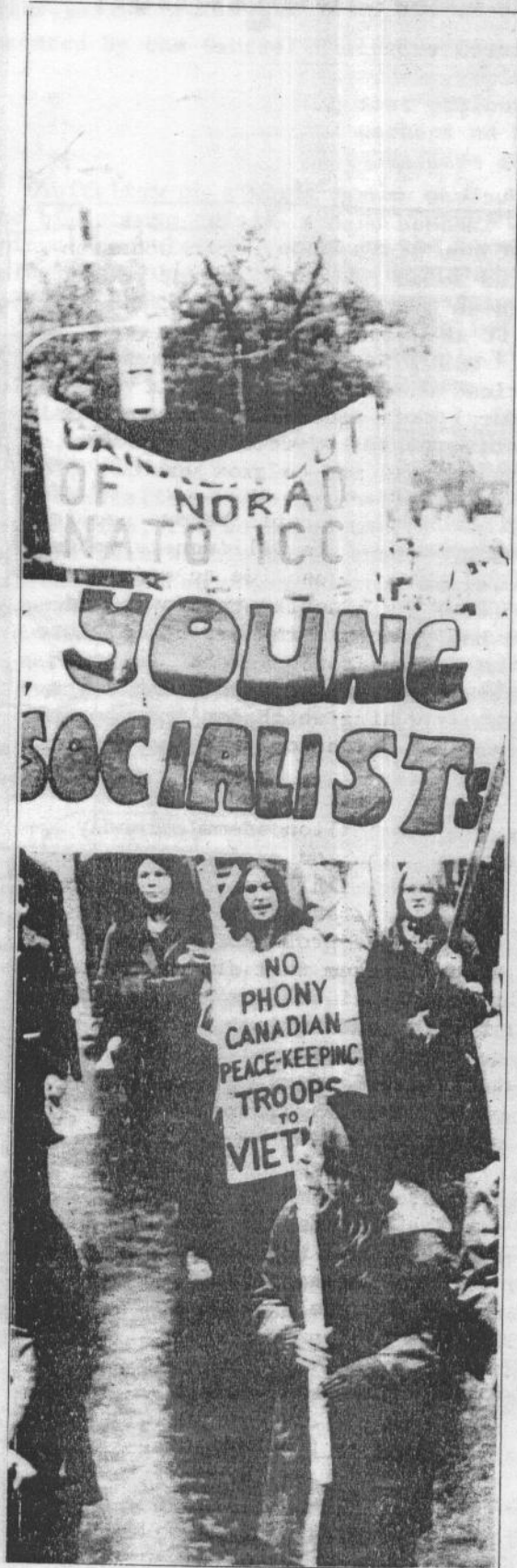
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## **The Challenge of the New Youth Radicalization**

YS-LSA DB Vol. 7 No. 1 (1970)

Presented by the Central Executive Council to the 1970 Convention

Capitalism on a world scale is in a state of intense crisis. It is faced with continual convulsions, economic crises and revolutions. One third of the world's people, in Russia, Eastern Europe, China and Cuba, have freed themselves from its control in massive social upheavals and revolutionary struggles continue to confront it in every part of the globe. In Vietnam, Palestine, Bolivia and throughout the whole colonial world, the imperial power of capitalism is being challenged. At the same time, the advanced capitalist countries face within their borders a radicalization on an unprecedented scale, primarily among youth. France in 1968, the occupation movement in Quebec, and the upsurge of U.S. students in response to the invasion of Cambodia have demonstrated the potential of this new radicalization - a radicalization which no capitalist class has been able to hold back.

The crisis of the imperialist system has been felt sharply in Canada. The ruling class is increasingly revealing its inability to solve the obvious problems of poverty, unemployment and inflation even PhD's find themselves unable to get jobs in this "affluent" society. All the efforts of the capitalist class to alleviate the crisis have only intensified it. Despite all their White Papers and Royal Commissions, poverty continues to exist, unemployment increases.

Canadian youth feel the crisis of modern capitalism directly - it is their future which is at stake. The intensifying radicalization of youth, expressed in a general rejection of authority and the established order, springs from the fact that this society is unable to satisfy human needs. Everywhere there is a search for new ideas, new roads - for changes in every aspect of our society, changes that cannot wait.

Capitalism promises the world but it cannot deliver the goods. More than that, it distorts and perverts humanity's potential. Nuclear energy could enrich the world - instead capitalism produces the Bomb. Modern birth control and abortion could free women to control their bodies and begin to control their lives, but instead it is withheld from those who need it most, young unmarried women, by hypocritical attitudes and archaic laws. Agricultural techniques make it possible to end starvation --instead the government pays farmers not to grow wheat.

Capitalism puts profit before people. It has demonstrated its willingness to use repression, war and genocide to maintain itself. The tiny minority that owns and controls the economy turns everything into a commodity. You aren't a human being: you're a consumer, an employee, a body, a statistic. Anything which can't be bought and sold is irrelevant or dangerous to the system.

The youth rebellion stems directly from the alienation and regimentation capitalism produces. It takes on a variety of forms, as youth radicalize around their own experiences and protest against the aspects of the system that affect them physically and emotionally. The new radicals are lashing out against the most brutal and dehumanizing aspects of the system against war and racism, against the oppression of women, against the destruction of our environment.



They demand self-determination for themselves, for the Vietnamese, for women for all the oppressed. The demands for human liberation, though they may not reflect a thorough understanding of the nature of the problem and its solution, have a revolutionary dynamic. Their direction is thoroughly anti-capitalist.

### **Quebec - Vanguard of the Radicalization**

The depth of the crisis of Canadian capitalism is revealed most blatantly by its inability to satisfy the national aspirations of the Quebecois. Anglo-Canadian and American capitalism have been oppressing Quebec as a nation for decades. They have used Quebec as a pool for cheap labor and a source of super-profits. The domination of English-speaking capital in Quebec has produced the most profound radicalization in Canada, perhaps on the continent. Massive protests have swept Quebec year after year.

Students have been in the forefront of these struggles demanding a french-only school system and adequate educational facilities. They have been propelled by the knowledge that even after school, this system has nothing to offer them.

*(Prime Minister Pierre)* Trudeau's response to the growing independentist movement was the harshest repression this country has seen in decades. The War Measures Act suspended all normal democratic procedures, in an attempt to behead and destroy the movement for independence. Seventy-five hundred troops occupied Quebec, confirming the federal government's determination to maintain power over Quebec, whatever the cost. The War Measures Act graphically illustrates that Quebec is a nation of hostages, kidnapped 200 years ago.

They talk about minorities which threaten democracy; the most dangerous, most anti-democratic minority in the country is the capitalist class and its front men in Parliament.

The greatest threat to the continued rule of that class is the radicalization of the Quebecois, a radicalization which expresses itself in the demand for independence. Independence from everything the English-speaking bosses and their representatives in Ottawa stand for. Capital speaks English in Quebec: as a result the movement against capitalism is expressed as a movement for unilingual schools, for the preservation of Quebecois language and culture, for independence. Only socialism = the placing of the wealth of the Quebec nation in the hands of the Quebecois - can make political independence meaningful.

The ruling class has no answer to the demands of the Quebecois except brute force, in order to preserve stability they had to eliminate civil liberties = there is no clearer indication of the dilemma before Canadian capitalism. Trudeau attempted to halt the independence movement: instead he intensified the hostility of the Quebecois to the federal system, and opened the eyes of many English Canadian youth to the true nature and importance of the struggle of the Quebecois. Trudeau's prestige, his image as a progressive swinger, is at its lowest ebb.

Socialism poses the only alternative to the oppression and repression of capitalism - for



Quebec and for English Canada. Capitalist society has created the means for satisfying humanity's needs - but only socialism can put these means to work. The massive wealth controlled now by a minority must be placed in the hands of the majority. Just for a start we have to eliminate the duplication and waste, the hunger, poverty and ignorance, that so-called free enterprise generates. Only a planned economy, with the offices, factories and schools under the democratic control of the workers and students, can make that possible. Only by establishing a society which says that people are more important than profit can we ensure self-determination, liberation, for everyone.

But it is not enough to be aware of the problems and the solution. We have to be able to bring about the solution. Capitalism has generated the crisis which can lead to socialism, and the material conditions that make socialism realizable, but only a mass movement led by revolutionary socialists can ensure that the change will take place. It can't be done without an organization, a program, a strategy - all designed with the single aim of destroying the old society and building a new one. That's what the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes is all about.

### **A Mass Action Strategy**

Fundamental social change -- socialism -- requires a revolution, a change in the whole structure of society, brought about by the conscious action of the majority of Canadians. No minority or elite, whether through some form of coup or through reforms, can accomplish this change.

The involvement of the YS/LJS in the building and leading of mass movements is based on our recognition of this fact. The system is designed to keep people divided and isolated, to keep them within established channels. Mass action, independent of and directly challenging the ruling class, presents a challenge to capitalism which it cannot co-opt. The power of the oppressed • workers, women, students, Québécois, the Native people • lies in their lack of any vested interest in the present system, in their numbers and in their ability to act collectively in their own interests.

At the same time, we recognize that a mass socialist movement will not be established except insofar as people, through their experiences, come to recognize its necessity. Through involvement in mass action against the system, people come to understand the nature of that system and the necessity of transforming it. The many students who have come to socialist conclusions as a result of their participation in the anti-war and women's liberation movements are concrete proof of this.

The test of a revolutionary movement and its program is in its participation in mass movements - in its ability to provide the correct direction for them and, through that process, win people to socialism. Over the years we have seen a variety of organizations which rejected mass action wither and die; and there are still a number of groups, including Maoist grouplets, the remnants of the new left, and the (*pro-Moscow --ed*) Communist Party, which consistently oppose a mass action strategy. They opt instead for either piecemeal reforms or some imaginary short cut to the revolution. The YS/LJS, on the other hand, has established itself in the forefront



of the most important mass struggles going on in Canada today precisely by its realization that independent mass actions are essential in the struggle for socialism.

### **Women's Liberation**

In the women's liberation movement, our orientation to building a movement which can unite all women, regardless of their views on other matters, in a struggle against oppression, is absolutely necessary for it to realize its full revolutionary potential. The tremendous success of the abortion caravan gave us a small glimpse of the potential of a movement built on this basis. Recently there has been a drive by some ultra-leftists to divert the movement away from mass action towards the creation of a women's organization composed solely of avowed revolutionaries. This perspective not only isolates the movement, thereby rendering it powerless, but it also excludes women from becoming revolutionaries through participation in the struggle against their oppression. The February 14 actions for the repeal of the abortion laws are counterposed to the strategy of the ultra-lefts and will be crucial in the extending of a mass action perspective and the education of the movement.

### **The Antiwar Movement**

The role of the YS/LJS in building the anti-war movement is well known. The slogans we have long advocated "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now" and "End Canada's Complicity" have been conclusively shown to be the only slogans which can build a mass movement while opposing U.S. imperialism and its Canadian supporters one hundred percent. Through these transitional demands demands which relate to the present level of political consciousness and direct that consciousness against the capitalist class - we have become the leaders of the anti-war movement in every part of the country.

Our role in supporting the Vietnamese revolution stands in contrast to the ultra-leftists who have vacillated between ignoring the movement and trying to lead it into violent confrontations with the cops; and to the reformists, like the Communist Party, who have attempted to turn the movement into a left-wing pressure group on the ruling class. It is only through mass independent action that the rulers of Canada and the U.S. can be forced to halt their aggression in Vietnam a victory for the Vietnamese would be a victory for everyone who wants to build a better world.

### **Americanization**

An issue to which the mass action strategy is particularly relevant is the fight against the growing American domination of the schools. This anti-imperialist sentiment has been one of the main results of the world wide crisis of imperialism and a prominent factor in the radicalization of Canadian students.

U.S. imperialism dominates the whole capitalist world. Every national capitalist class has had to work out an arrangement with these cops of the world, but few have worked out such a cosy relationship, as the one between the Canadian and U.S. rulers. The U.S. invades a country; Canada explains how it is a peacekeeping move. Trudeau passes the War Measures Act; Nixon



phones up to see if he needs any help. Canadian capitalism has fully adopted the values, concepts and objectives of American imperialism. As a result all capitalist institutions in this country, particularly the educational institutions, are at the service of American imperialism by special arrangement with the Canadian capitalist class.

In response to this problem the Waffle Caucus in the New Democratic Party and others have proposed a quota restricting the number of American professors who would be allowed to teach in Canada. But this proposal does not effectively challenge the roots of the Americanization problem. The fight against the Americanization of the universities is the fight against capitalist control.

The effective response to Americanization lies in mass student action. Demands like "End campus complicity in the U.S. war effort" and "No research or strategic resources for the U.S. war machine", confront the problem directly and can lead to mass actions against Americanization, and at the same time confront the capitalist class and its universities here in Canada.

The universities must be taken out of the control of the profit-hungry minority and put to the service of the revolutionary struggle. The YS/LJS program for the campuses puts forward such demands as Big Business off the Boards of Governors, and for control of the university (including course content and hiring and firing) by the students, faculty and staff. We don't want courses that are abstractly "Canadian" we want the true history of the Canadian working class, the Native people, the suffragist movement: the history that capitalism hides. We want a university that is open to everyone, with living allowances for all students. It is through mass action around such demands that the university can be transformed into an organizing centre for the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partners.

### **Response to the War Measures Act**

The mass movements which now exist are only the beginning. We can expect mass actions on a variety of issues to merge in the coming period on local student questions, on domestic social questions like pollution and in particular around the defense of civil liberties and democracy. Our response to the War Measures Act crisis is an exemplary model of the way in which the YS/LJS acts to build mass movements.

Though Trudeau succeeded in temporarily demobilizing the Quebec independence movement by arresting over 400 of its leaders, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes moved out immediately to challenge Trudeau's repression. In the midst of the repression, despite the arrest of two of the most prominent campaign workers, we moved the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes - Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere mayoralty election campaign into high gear, and we transformed it into a campaign against the repression.

We picketed the army, distributed election leaflets illegally, organized protest meetings in the midst of the occupation. A special issue of *Jeune Garde* was published. We participated in launching a broad defense committee. Everywhere we made the lessons clear: only massive public action can defeat the attack. For a period we were the only group to meet the attack



frontally, but today protests of the trials of those charged under the War Measures Act are beginning to develop on a broad scale.

At the same time, in English Canada, the Young Socialists were among the first to cut across the chauvinism that Trudeau was counting on. Within hours of the imposition of the act we held the first public speakouts, rallies and demonstrations on many campuses. We initiated committees for the defense of civil liberties; we sent speakers through Eastern Canada and to the United States. Our co-thinkers in the U.S. organized demonstrations at Canadian Consulates.

Maintaining this activity, and in particular, building united defense of the Quebecois now facing jail for their ideas, is a first priority for the YS/LJS at this time. The defense of those arrested is the defense of the right to free speech in this country - a right which exists not through the benevolence of the bourgeoisie, but was won through the struggles of Canadian working people.

### **Working Class Political Action**

The victory of the mass action strategy for socialism is predicated on two closely related factors: the entry of the working class into the struggle to overthrow capitalism, and the successful creation of a revolutionary working class leadership.

Those who write off the working class as a potentially evolutionary force are in fact writing off socialism as a realistic perspective. The development of a mass revolutionary student movement will play a crucial role in the process of transforming the system. But only the working class, comprising the vast majority of the population, has the strategic economic and social position to eradicate capitalism and organize society democratically and in the interests of the vast majority of Canadians.

It is crucially necessary, then, for revolutionary students to ally themselves with the most politically advanced sectors of the working class, and support independent political action by the working class. In English Canada this means first of all support of the New Democratic Party as the political party of organized labor.

But at the same time as supporting the NDP as a break with the political parties of big business, we must recognize that the NDP's present image-conscious leadership and program of reforming capitalism will never bring socialism to Canada. That's why we fight for a socialist program in the NDP and are conscious of the necessity to build a revolutionary party. Such a party must have a program and organization adapted to confronting the bourgeoisie at every turn and must be rooted in the working class. In Canada, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere with its program and organizational concepts has such a perspective.

As the YS/LJS constitution states, we are in full political solidarity with the LSA/LSO. We are part of a common movement which has the goal of building the revolutionary party. In many areas, YS/LJSers have been instrumental in launching new LSA/LSO branches. At the same time, the experience and support of the LSA/LSO have been essential to the building of the



YS/LJS.

## **An International Strategy**

Youth are beginning to confront capitalism on an international scale. The development of an international strategy, designed to meet and defeat imperialism on all fronts, is an essential basis for building a revolutionary movement. The struggle of the Vietnamese, the struggle of the Palestinians, the struggle of the Quebecois, the struggle of English Canadian youth all of these are part of a generalized anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist thrust. Our internationalist outlook is not sentimentalism: it is based on a recognition of the fact that only a concrete international strategy can establish socialism.

It is for this reason that we build the movement against imperialism in Vietnam, for example, and it is for the same reason that we are a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International World Party of the Socialist Revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. Our organization and all our activities are geared to one end a socialist (Quebec and *handwritten insert ed.*) Canada in a socialist world.

During the ten years since our founding, the YS/LJS has grown from a handful of activists into a cross-Canada organization. Since our last convention in particular, we have seen important growth, reflecting the impact of the new radicalization.

In Fredericton, the leadership of the New Brunswick Socialists, and in Saskatoon the leadership of the Committee for a Socialist Movement, have joined the YS/LJS. This process decisions by already existing groups of revolutionaries that it is necessary to join the YS/LJS - is just a small reflection of the deepening radicalization. It is towards this radicalization which the YS/LJS must direct itself.

A number of experiences indicate the potential that exists. In Montreal, the Leger for Mayor campaign marked a break-through for our movement, established new connections and opportunities for us on a broad scale. The campaign was symbolic of the opposition of the Quebecois to the War Measures Act, and the vote we received reflected this. On the New Brunswick South Shore, a group of high school and working youth have joined the YS/LJS as a result of their experiences in a company town. The Beaver Harbor and Black's Harbor locals are now moving to spread socialism throughout the region.

One of the most dramatic indicators of the possibilities before us was the speaking tour we organized for a leading LJS'er, Penny Simpson, a victim of the War Measures Act. This was the most successful speaking tour that we have ever organized in Canada. Meetings of hundreds of students were the norm. In St. John's, Newfoundland, 1500 students -- 25% of the student body turned out. Everywhere we came into contact with new radicals who were interested in finding out about and joining the YS/LJS, often in cities in which no radical organization has ever had any strength. In Peterborough, Ontario, for example, the tour laid the basis for the launching of a large YS local on the Trent University campus.



## **Tasks Before the YS/LJS**

The new radicalization gives our movement the possibility of growth on an unprecedented scale. Making this growth a reality is the most important task of the YS/LJS in this period.

This is not a task which can be postponed or delayed. We are at present in the best position of any left organization to organize these new radicals. We have the program that can meet their needs, and we have the largest and most active organization in the country. But no revolutionary organization can ever rest on its laurels. Unless we move now to give the new radicals the program and organization of revolutionary socialism, the radicalization may well be diverted or dissipated by the bourgeoisie and by other left currents.

## **Regional Organizing**

There is not a city in this country in which a local of the YS/LJS cannot be established. Concretely, this means full time traveling organizers in those areas where it is feasible and generally preparing ourselves to move into new areas very quickly.

Regional organizing involves more than recruitment: it also involves the education and consolidation of new locals. The role of the cross-Canada leadership, in developing a unified understanding of our program and organization is particularly important, and will be increasingly so in the coming period.

Careful attention to education takes on added importance in a period of growth. The ideas of Marxism, as developed over the past century, are the only reliable guide to revolutionary action. Only systematic educational activity, through reading, classes, educationals at local meetings and so on, can ensure that the movement is equipped to meet the even greater challenges we will face in the future. We aim to have every member of the YS/LJS familiar with our program, and capable of putting it into effect in a wide variety of situations.

The greatest potential for the growth of revolutionary socialism exists in Quebec, In particular through connections in the high schools and the CEGEPs. *Jeune Garde*, now a bi-monthly tabloid, will play a key role in this process. Montreal, with the full support of the cross-country movement, must be seen as the organizing centre for the entire Quebec nation.

In the areas in which we are already established, we must expand our efforts to reach and organize radical youth. Selling the *Young Socialist*, holding a wide variety of educational activities, campus forums, social activities and so on, must be increased. Our involvement in mass movements, in particular defense of Quebec civil liberties, the anti-war movement, the women's liberation movement and the movement against the Americanization of education continues to be central to our activity. Our movement must reflect the dynamic and creative spirit of the new radicalization, angry, irreverent and above all revolutionary.

We are not building the YS/LJS just for the sake of adding numbers to our ranks. We are



attempting to build a movement of leaders capable of leading the student movement in the struggle for socialism in this country. Our democratic centralist organizational structure, involving full internal democracy and full unity in action, is vital to this process.

The growth in numbers and influence of the YS/LJS over the last year is only an indication of the possibilities before us. Our task is to realize this potential.

(end)





# Students and the Quebec Revolution

Draft resolution submitted by the Central Executive Council of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes to the YS/LJS 1970 Convention.

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# STUDENTS AND THE QUEBEC REVOLUTION (presented by the Central Executive Council)

## The Present Situation:

On the 16th of October, in the name of "Law and Order", the Canadian government proclaimed the War Measures Act. with machine gun in hand, a foreign army invaded Quebec territory. The Quebecois, scoffed at for more than 200 years, find themselves totally deprived of their elementary rights for which they have constantly struggled.

Did the government fear the FLQ, a group of individuals isolated from the mass nationalist movement? Were special laws for Quebec decreed simply to enable them to get hold of the FLQers?

shows

No. The deployment of repressive forces that the aim was rather to behead and stop the rise of Quebecois independentism, which by its dynamic puts into question the very basis of Canadian capitalist society. The FLQ Manifesto described, among other things, the condition of life inflicted on the Quebecois. From that point many Quebecois strongly identified with the description found in it, though they disagreed with the methods used by the FLQ.

The potential for an unleashing of the mass movement, astutely perceived by the ruling class, gave them the pretext of an "apprehended insurrection". They spoke of safeguarding democracy. In this way the Canadian army procured a visa to besiege the metropolis.

"Democratie" or democracy? The question is posed. Every four years, they try to show us what this democracy is: a vote for the Liberals or the Conservatives. In April '70, in Quebec, another party, the Parti Quebecois, appears on the provincial electoral scene: and the result of the elections? With almost half the percentage of votes obtained by the Liberals, the PQ gets only one tenth of the seats that the Liberals got. Nonetheless, this had its impact on the Quebecois population undergoing a nationalist upsurge. These elections showed as well that the people have no "voice in the governing of their state". The elections of October 25th, where the Marchands and Drapeaus showed no hesitation in making vicious declarations against the FRAP, is another example of this "democracy". FRAP, a working class initiative, represented the "only alternative to the parties of the bosses, and its demand was power to the workers, a real solution to the social crisis. In an unprecedented governmental "hysteria" Marchand denounces FRAP, attacking it as an FLQ "front". Two FRAP candidates are arrested and held by the authorities for seven days. The bourgeoisie uses any means possible to demolish the opposition -- that is their "democracy".

" In Quebec one question can sum up a key aspect of the oppression we undergo" -- Do you speak English? -- a bread and butter question for Quebecois who are in the immense majority French-speaking (83% of the total population).

workers

The small handful of foreign monopolies, leeches on our wealth, are at the very roots of our oppression. It is the Power Corporation, Iron Ore, Canadair, Noranda Mines, Alcan, GM, and other monopolies, mostly American and English Canadian, which have appropriated our riches, and which control us.



English. The ranks of the unemployed -- a daily experience for us. We are the first to be fired and the last to find jobs. Our culture is going to the devil. Our theatres are infested with the "American way of life" without translation. The generation of chewing gum, hotdogs -- we know it well. The birth rate in Quebec, which was among the highest in the world, is now decreasing from year to year and at an accelerating rhythm. The explanation: How can the Quebecois with their minimal wages adequately nourish and house huge families? The housing question: in the metropolitan region alone 25% of houses are considered to be "slums", and 35% are in the hands of "trusts". How many houses could we build with just the budget of \$50 million consecrated to the police department? The bourgeoisie chooses to repress the Quebecois rather than to respond to their demands.

On the educational level they close down our schools at times, as they did in Gaspé, because they don't have any money: school isn't profitable. McGill, on the other hand, doesn't suffer from any lack of grants. The largest library of French (Canadian) literature is found at McGill -- for a minority of English-speaking exploiters to talk occasionally to the "pepsis".

The French university? A great number of students come from working class families and have all the troubles in the world to finish their studies, (that is, when they can even enroll), and upon graduation they swell the ranks of the educated unemployed. Our texts are in... English! and obviously, they avoid teaching us our real history. The anglicization of Quebec must be stopped and only the Quebecois masses are capable of doing it. The demand for a unilingual French Quebec is the only way to ensure the survival of the French language, constantly threatened in Quebec.

To be a Quebecois today means to be doubly exploited, but it also means to be part of this vanguard which will overthrow the capitalist society which is in its death-throws.

The special laws may have temporarily slowed down our national liberation struggle, but we have in no way raised the white flag. Conscious of the existing wealth which is escaping us at the moment, and of the creative potential which can flow from it, we want to draw on all the assets, to at last break the chains of exploitation. Our struggle is a struggle for a French unilingual Quebec in an independent socialist Quebec. The dynamic of our real liberation will pass without doubt along the road of independence. The Quebecois masses, victims of the vilest wrongs of Canadian imperialism, will conquer.

### Brief History:

The Quebecois from their entire history, have only their exploitation and their oppression as a nation, to retain. First it was the French who, as good colonizers, only thought of extracting the greatest profit possible from their colony. Then the British Conquest of 1759 made the English the uncontested masters of the country. From the time of their arrival, English merchants imposed their laws and... their language. Nevertheless, the French-Canadians resisted from the very beginning and fought strongly against the forced assimilation which Messieurs les Anglais tried to impose on them.

In 1837, "the Patriotes denounced the British government as the "oppressing power" and struggled for the recognition of their national

poverty, physical, cultural  
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rights, centering around the major demand for the independence of their territory at that time called Lower Canada. Already in 1837, the immense majority of the population endorsed the Patriotes and a popular uprising broke out. Armed struggle was the only recourse of this uprising because of the determination of the British to refuse this nation any right to exist. Though the rebellion ended in defeat, and many patriots were hanged publicly as an example, the English Canadian bourgeoisie had a tough time holding on. The struggle of the Quebecois today is of the same lineage as that undertaken by the Patriotes of 1837 and will be the heir and the crowning of it.

combined  
development  
industrial  
Quebec is  
revolutionary  
Quebec

The clergy, having played the role of the Colonizers' aids and having taken a position against the rebellion, continued after the defeat, to use the discouragement and frustration of the French Canadians to the service of the colonizers. It controlled the education of the French Canadians, founded colleges to produce priests, and tried to convince them that the conquered are the elected people, called upon to convert the world. The man who kills himself at work, who has the largest family, and gives his sons to the clergy, at the same time as attending all the Sunday masses was consecrated by the Church as the ideal man after the Curel

role of the Church

In 1838, the British government named Lord Durham governor general and high commissioner to inquire into the rebellion. Durham came to praise British imperialism and to thank the Church which was "able to assure the maintenance of Order." His proposal for peace was nothing less than the anglicization of the French-Canadians in order to assure a loyal and English majority. With his report, presented to the Commons, the death sentence of our nation was passed.

with

The Act of Union (1840) assured the English of a stronger representation in the Assembly and in accordance their demand under the unification agreement, English was proclaimed the official language of the Assembly. The Confederation of 1867, 27 years later, gave all the important powers to the federal government, above all, economic powers. Despite their opposition to Confederation (they denounced the interests of the English capitalists) the Quebec people were from that point on prisoners. In spite of 20,000 names inscribed on petitions against the new constitution, it was adopted with the consultation of the population.

Confederation

The national struggle has assumed different forms. From the beginning of the hostilities of the First World war, Parliament voted 50 million dollars for a Canadian army and conscription began. English Canadians enrolled rapidly, but the Quebecois opposed it. As an oppressed nation, they refused to go fight to defend the imperialist interests, from which they had nothing to gain. How could they enroll in a foreign army which anglicized French Canadians, at the same time as the right to learn French was denied in Ontario. The Second World war witnessed the same phenomenon.

The  
war  
conscription

Then the '60's and Lesage's "Quiet Revolution" opened the door to bourgeois liberalism. Some reforms were carried out--nothing more. The condition of the Quebecois didn't improve very much. Unemployment increased, the French language was still threatened, the housing crisis



became worse, the educational system despite some reforms did not escape the crisis. The more the contradictions deepened, the more the discontent was manifested.

### An Independent and Socialist Quebec

In 1839 Lord Durham wrote: "The majority of workers are of French origin, but are in the service of English capitalism." The situation hasn't changed in the 20th century. At the beginning of this century we saw the massive invasion of English capital, then American. The French Canadians found themselves pushed out of the world of Big Business. Gerard Filion wrote in Le Devoir in 1954: "French Canadian industry is a rear-guard, for foreign capital. It is practically absent from the exploitation of the natural resources which are the basis of the economic prosperity of the North American continent. It hardly exists in the pulp and paper industry..." During the 1950's many observers put forward the idea that only a "Quebecois state can assure the presence of this nation in the business world."

A state based on what class? and with what power? Without control of the economy in the hands of the workers a formally independent Quebec would still remain in the hands of the foreign monopolies. He who pays the piper calls the tune. Workers control of the economy is essential for true independence.

Quebec is probably one of the most industrialized "colonies" in the world with a population that is 80% working class, and with typically capitalist class antagonisms. The national bourgeoisie is closely tied to and dependent on Anglo-American capitalism. We have our "Quebec representatives" in Quebec City and Ottawa, but their interests are foreign to us because they serve the monopolies in their opposition to labor.

The struggle for the recognition and application of the national rights of the Quebecois, takes on the character of a class struggle for political and economic power, a struggle led by the working class.

The only way to eliminate not only injustices, but also the causes of these injustices, is through the socialist revolution, by which the workers will take into their own hands the control of the political and economic structure of Quebec.

The task before us now, to wipe out all oppression and injustice, is to destroy the capitalist order in Quebec, which is responsible for the national oppression of the Quebecois. This will be done by nationalizing the foreign monopolies, those parasites on our resources and labor power; by establishing an independent Quebec under the leadership of the working class, the only class which has the economic power capable of accomplishing this and the only class which has the fundamental interest to do so.

A Quebecois worker's government would establish French as the only language on all levels, because once they have gotten rid of the monopolies which have imposed their rules and language on them, they would have every interest in the world of developing as a nation. Our economic wealth would be used to promote and aid the development of our culture and our language, by furnishing the technical means necessary to the development of a technology and culture which assures strong links between Quebec and the French speaking world.



*socialist planning*  
Unemployment would disappear, pollution would be abolished, thousands of houses, schools and hospitals would be built. Quebec's great wealth would be used to meet the needs of our people rather than to enrich foreign capitalists.

The independence of Quebec means a Quebec independent of all foreign domination - that is an independent, socialist Quebec.

### The Revolutionary Potential of the Student Movement

May-June '68 in France, the Prague spring, the American anti-war movement - so many examples show the key role of the student movement on an international scale. This youth radicalization has begun in Quebec as well. The student movement was to be found at the head of the resurgence of national struggles since the mid 60's. Students, who they have taught about the functioning of the system and who they have tried to use as cogwheels for the system, have risen up against it.

The objective factors: the reform of the educational system carried out by Lesage was insufficient. CEGEP's were created and all types of problems developed. Facilities are inadequate, and conditions of study are intolerable. The campus doors close - "no vacancy". When we register, we become educated and when we graduate we are well equipped to be unemployed. Bursaries are insufficient. University research serves the Anglo-American monopolies.

In 1968 we saw the first mass movement of spontaneous walkouts. The students occupied their schools and put the concept of a Red University into application, by using their places of study as centers of organisation. In 1969, 'Operation McGill, Francais' demanded justice for French-speaking students. October 1969 witnessed an uninterrupted week of demonstrations ending with a march of 40,000 people in the capitals.

The defeat of the struggle against Bill 63 provoked an ebbing of the student movement. But attention should be paid not to the defeat itself, but rather on the force attained by the nationalist movement through these struggles.

The struggle against Bill 63 ended with a very sad day for the Quebecois nation, but at the same time, it opened the doors to the first mass nationalist demonstrations which Quebec has known since the conscription crisis. However, in order to assure victories, the student movement must have close links with its ally the working class.

Only the working class with its economic power can assure the profound social changes necessary. Already during the occupation in 1968, this role was recognized (whether consciously or not), and was expressed by the slogan: Student-Worker Solidarity, strongly inspired by the slogans of the French student movement of May '68. The questions raised by the student movement flow from the foreign economic hold, highly represented on the University Boards of Governors. The Canadian bourgeoisie wants to develop its "cadre" and cares very little about the conditions of life it creates. To end this means to "overthrow" the present profit system: this implies the taking of power by the Quebecois masses. We can see that these struggles which are isolated on the campuses will not find a solution. This does not mean that we should forget the contradictions which exist on the



campuses, and not define a strategy of struggle... rather, the contrary is true.

Students have concrete problems around which they must rally student opinion and for which they must furnish perspectives of struggle.

The Quebecois student movement has an important role to play in the struggle for an independent socialist Quebec, by using the campuses as centers of organisation for the national liberation struggle.

The Parti Quebecois - the great illusion

The very roots of our oppression arise from foreign economic domination, and as long as the wealth of Quebec remains foreign property, there can be no independence.

The Parti Quebecois, far from proposing an independent Quebec for the Quebecois proposes in effect the perpetuation of national oppression welcoming foreign capital with open arms, and promising to protect its interests and the stability of the capitalist state. The PQ tries to use the growing independentist sentiment of the Quebecois masses, an essentially anti-imperialist sentiment since it goes to the sources of the oppression, and to channel it through its own party, "a bourgeois party, politically dependent on the imperialist powers."

Almost all the tendencies in the Quebec left bent over backwards to tacitly support the PQ... and forward for the 'first stage'!

Leaving the monopolies alone, the PQ and its "solution" mean continuing unemployment, social insecurity because profit will continue to rule, and finally gives no guarantee of the establishment of French as the national language. The PQ in power means a Quebec still dominated by the Anglo-Americans, against which the Patriotes fought more than a century ago.

and Africa

Many countries in Latin America have obtained their political independence and what has that changed basically? They are still under the yoke of the imperialist powers and their territory, officially recognized as theirs, far from serving them, remains what it was before--a resource base for the foreign monopolies. Cuba is the only example of what a real independence means. Sugar cane is no longer the property of United Fruit Co., but Cuban property.

The PQ is the major obstacle now to the development of a mass revolutionary party. But what the support of the workers and students for the Parti Quebecois stated once and for all was that the class struggle in Quebec contains within it a dynamic which enhances its militancy and impatience for change--the struggle for an independent Quebec. We know that the Quebecois masses will eventually bypass the Parti Quebecois on the road to the liberation of Quebec, but we cannot wait for the national liberation struggle to go through a tragic defeat at the hands of a Parti Quebecois government before beginning to build a real class alternative to the PQ. The working class has no large political formations leading the independence struggle. Such a formation, an independent party of the workers and students, which would unite the Quebecois masses in their own interests and necessarily in the interests of national

necessity for independent political action,



liberation--would do much to cut across the PQ.

## Terrorism

The violence of the bourgeoisie, the reformist demagoguery and the defeats which have followed some big mass movements (Bill 63) have provoked the impatience, frustration and despair that is found at the root of terrorist action.

Some individuals isolated from the Quebec mass took the initiative of kidnapping a British diplomat, hoping thereby to unleash a big movement in their support. The broadcasting of their manifesto describing the situation of the Quebec nation received fairly important support, but it stopped there. Several days later, other individuals decided this time to kidnap the Quebec Labor minister. The government, taking advantage of these events as the unhoped for excuse to behead and brake the nationalist movement, decreed the War Measures Act.

Nationalist militants were arrested by the hundreds, and more than 3,000 raids were carried out. The nationalist movement found itself disorganized. The death of the Quebec minister simply poured oil on the fire.

*Handwriting of Terrorism*  
The recourse to kidnapping is illusory, for it substitutes itself to the effective and realistic methods of mass action. The conspiracy of a small minority, already isolated from the masses because of the clandestinity which their own means of action imposes on them, excludes the oppressed masses from their conscious participation in the struggle for their own liberation. The monopolists, colonizers, the only ones historically responsible for these terrorist acts, could with one blow easily transfer their own guilt onto the backs of the revolutionaries and carry a massive campaign of repression against them.

In 1911, Trotsky wrote: "The capitalist state does not rest upon some ministers..."

The Quebec October of 1970 showed us this. It is not the isolated action of several individuals that will bring about the national liberation of the Quebecois, but the conscious Quebec masses themselves when they go into action.

The task of Quebec revolutionaries today is not therefore to study the use of dynamite or the art of kidnapping, but to learn how to release the creative energy and the revolutionary potential of the masses? so as to bring closer the historic day when Quebec will be independent and socialist.

## Defence Work

Of the 500 arrests carried out by the police since Oct. 16, about 50 people are still held, and every conceivable charge is being levelled against them, under a retroactive law. These victims of the attacks of the ruling class are accused, not of having done anything, but of having had political opinions.



The ruling class wanted to decapitate the nationalist movement, even at a high price. The police and tribunals constitute their apparatus and will be used as such. The civil rights of the Quebecois represent the political acquisitions of more than 200 years of struggle. They are in no way the gift of bourgeois kindness. A strong defence of these democratic rights is a precondition of struggle. Because the bourgeoisie is trying more and more to take our elementary rights from us, the struggle for these same rights takes on a revolutionary dynamic.

Struggle for  
democratic rights  
mass action

The more the nationalist movement grows in Québec, the more it becomes necessary for it to be able to assume its own defence against eventual and present attacks of "the Canadian bourgeoisie. The Establishment tried to determine just how far it could go in the repression of the Quebecois nationalist movement by destroying civil liberties on the campuses and in all areas. To permit them to succeed would be to encourage them to undertake other attacks against the nationalist movement. It is to prevent this occurrence that the Quebec Committee for the Defence of Civil Liberties was founded.

The most efficient defence strategy is one which tries to rally a massive support around precise demands, independently of the political opinions or political differences on other questions.

" these people may have "

The most important work for the LJS in Quebec today is this work for the defence of our civil rights and for the immediate release of the labor and student leaders who have been arrested for their political opinions. We have already set a fine example. when the war Measures Act was declared the LJS was in the midst of an election campaign with the LSO for mayor of Montreal. The War Measures Act swept away key leaders of our movement and other nationalist groups into Trudeau's jails. Far from running scared like most other tendencies, we turned the election campaign into an anti-repression campaign, winning 7,000 votes. We were key in initiating the CQDL in order to carry the campaign on a broader and continuous level. All the work of the years of learning how to act and educating ourselves paid off as our movement was able more than any other to strike defensively at the time of crisis.

It is also important to lay stress on the support which can be built throughout English Canada and throughout the world. The impact of the American anti-war movement increased as similar movements were built around the world.

Liberate the political prisoners now!

Repeal the special laws!

End the repressive measures!

Withdraw the Canadian army from Quebec!

Repeal the War Measures Act!

### Women's Liberation

" The women's liberation movement, starting out from radicalized women in the national struggle, is now too becoming a crucially im-



portant movement in its own right. We cannot have a free Quebec if half of the nation is still oppressed because of their sex. The women's liberation movement will play a key role in showing that a purely formal independence for Quebec is not the answer without other fundamental changes. The fact that our organizer and editor are women is only a small indication of the vanguard role that the LJS is going to play in the women's liberation movement.

## Internationalism

We are not alone in our struggle for independence. Our fight is part of the "Third world's": of the Canadian and American Indians, the blacks, chicanos, puerto ricans, the Basques, the Irish, the Vietnamese and the Palestinians, the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Our strength lies in the fact that our fight against imperialism embraces the majority of the world's peoples. Che Guevara's call for "Two, three many Vietnams" to unify our struggle around the world is the centre of the LJS strategy for Quebec.

The national liberation struggles are but one demonstration of the decadence of capitalism today. It is just a foretaste of the coming revolution of the students and workers in the imperialist countries themselves. And simultaneously the rise of the world revolution has regenerated socialist ideals in the degenerated workers' states as exemplified in the struggle of the Czechoslovakian people. These are not separate fights. A victory in one sector spurs on every other. That is why the LJS collaborates with the Fourth International to build an international revolutionary party. That is why we build demonstrations in defence of the Vietnamese revolution and why we were able to do more than any other group to launch an international defence of Quebec under repression which has helped to put pressure on Ottawa.

### THE ROLE OF THE LIGUE DES JEUNES SOCIALISTES

The national liberation of Quebec through a socialist revolution will not come about spontaneously. Sporadic revolts of the nationalist movement, the students, workers and women, will appear again and again under capitalism. But without the intervention of a conscious organization of socialists, the mass ferment can always be diverted from transforming society by a combination of false diversions such as the PQ on the one hand and by a combination of powerful propaganda by the bourgeois controlled mass media and politicians and by selective repression by the conscious bourgeois state. The partial struggles have to be centralized into a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism by an organization consciously working for that aim and building this consciousness in consistent work from day to day. We need a revolutionary socialist party.

But building a revolutionary party is not a substitute for participating in today's partial struggles. Fighting for immediate demands is precisely the means to bring people to socialist consciousness through the struggles against the every day manifestations of our national oppression. The leadership of revolutionary socialists is even necessary to win these partial victories because these who see the injustice of the system as a whole are most uncompromising in fighting against each and every aspect of capitalist society.

The critical need for a revolutionary party was well illustrated in the massive response to the manifesto of the FLQ. Support



" " " is  
which was strong enough to scare the government into suspending civil liberties. And yet the fact that this revolutionary sentiment was forced to express itself around a manifesto of a group which in kidnapping diplomats was doing more to set back than to advance the struggle. The inability of the "spontaneous movement to react vigorously to prevent the repression shows there is a tremendous vacuum of leadership in Quebec considering the deep felt nationalist sentiments of the people and the repressive force of the government.

Students have an important role to play in the development of the revolutionary party. We have seen how the student movement has initiated militant nationalist struggles. It is through building of mass nationalist movements such as the struggle against Bill 63 or the campaign for civil liberties that the student movement will play a decisive role in the development of the revolutionary movement for national liberation.

" " "  
The LJS which is in solidarity with the LSO, the nucleus of the revolutionary party, will be instrumental in leading the student movement away from dead end ultra-leftism, and towards the continuation and acceleration of mass action. Because of its links with the LSO it has an understanding of the necessity of linking student struggle with the working class.

" "  
The LJS is more than another of the groupuscules which have already and will again arise, live their short lives and pass away. The LJS' main weapon is its program, a program which did not fall from the sky or from a great "Chairman". The LJS program represents the product of over a hundred years of continuous struggle of the world Marxist movement. The LJS has not only a program but a tested core who have demonstrated their abilities particularly in the War Measures crisis.

" "  
It is the LJS' program and organisation which will provide the leadership for the student movement. The question of leadership cannot be taken "lightly. We saw the results of this lack of leadership in October '68 when the nation-wide occupation of universities and CEGEPs could not even formulate demands and dissolved under the repression because UGEQ decided that leadership was not necessary. We have seen the result of spontaneism time and time again in Quebec.

" "  
The spontaneist groups which have tried to reject formulating an ideology or program or centralized organisation in favor of a policy of drifting without foresight from "action" to "action" have disintegrated because their groups were not really united by any common long-range understanding of their tasks. Of all the groups only the LJS has continued to work and grow.

" "  
Our task is to bring students, who have already demonstrated their discontent with the present system of oppression, to a revolutionary consciousness and action. An important tool in this task is our paper, Jeune Garde. It enables the LJS to spread its ideas for socialist revolution to liberate Quebec on a mass scale which no individual discussions or meetings can anywhere approach in effectiveness. Jeune Garde aims to be an initiator of action by circulating the manifestos of the LJS and news of action projects whether for the free abor-



tion campaign or the fight for civil liberties. Jeune Garde plays the role of overcoming the isolation of a particular school or a fight around one issue by bringing the news and the lessons of other struggles around Quebec and the world. Jeune Garde has the perspective of becoming the voice and expression of the nationalist movement among youth.

The key task before the LJS now is to "continue building our Quebecois leadership". Vietnam has shown the world the kind of determination necessary to win a national struggle for liberation--dedication, patience and an uncompromising spirit of struggle. Quebec needs a national leadership with the same total commitment to the liberation of Quebec. The LJS has started to build that kind of organization together with the LSO. In order to win an independent and socialist Quebec, it's necessary to join the organization in the vanguard of the struggle--the LJS.

Long live the independent socialist Quebec!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

*(Notations by Gord Doctorow)*



*Lochrow*

# Women's Liberation and the Struggle for Socialism

Draft resolution submitted by the Central Executive Council of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes to the YS/LJS 1970 Convention.

One of a series of resolutions and discussion bulletins, circulated prior to the convention to ensure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities.

Young socialists from across the country are urged to participate in the written discussion and to attend the convention. Send contributions to YS/LJS Central Office, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto.

(E) (199)

**YS-LJS  
Discussion Bulletin**

**Volume 7  
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## **Women's Liberation and the Struggle for Socialism**

Draft resolution submitted by the YS/LJS Central Executive Council  
YS-LJS DB Vo. 7 No. 6 (1970)

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women, after three years of study and hearings to which women from across the country presented their views, came up with this remarkable conclusion: Canadian women get a raw deal in all aspects of life! Rather than finding that women have "come a long way, baby" the commission found that in many ways women's condition today is intolerable.

This conclusion reflects much more the extent of women's oppression and the impact of the women's liberation movement than any great insight on the part of the commissioners. Some of their main recommendations for day care, abortion, equal pay, etc. look suspiciously like watered-down versions of the demands of women's liberation.

The women's liberation movement in Canada, although little more than three years old in its present form, has already had a big impact on all walks of life. Women's liberation groups have sprung up on many campuses, in most major cities, half a dozen high schools and in one public school. In many towns and cities where no other radical organizations exist, women's liberation groups are active. The movement has organized public actions around day care, abortion, equal pay and job discrimination, beauty contests and other methods of turning women into sex objects, the right to wear slacks to school and other forms of discrimination in the schools, and other issues.

This movement has gathered together women to discuss their common condition and to organize to change it. It has already affected even some of the most conservative organizations and has won a few modest victories. The day care sit-in at the University of Toronto in the Spring of 1970 forced President Bissell to back down and agree to aid the day care center, a concession opening the door to the concept that the university should be responsible for the children of its students and employees. The Ontario government passed a bill recently to include the word "sex" in the Human Rights Code, thus legally outlawing discrimination because of sex. They did this in response to pressure from the women's liberation movement and the New Democratic Party. The campaign for free abortion on demand has already forced a minor concession -- a liberalization of the policies of some hospital boards. In B.C., where the campaign originated and was fought most consistently, it is now easier to get legal abortions than anywhere else in the country.

### **Contradictions of Capitalism**

The women's liberation movement has developed out of the fundamental contradictions in capitalism. While the means exist to free women from the



limitations of their traditional roles, Canadian women are still relegated to being primarily appendages of men -- wife, mother, sex object. On the job the same role is offered them -- secretary, nurse, stewardess, etc. -- the woman who helps the man do things. The tremendous technology available is used to prop up the old oppressive roles rather than eliminate them. Multi-billion dollar industries develop new imaginative ways to use sex to sell useless products.

Capitalism oppresses all women. The justification used for the inferior status of women is the myth of women's inferiority. For decades women have been used as surplus labor, shunted in and out of the work force according to the dictates of this profit hungry economy. When the economy is in a slump we are told that our place is in the home. When there are not enough workers, as during the second world war for example, we are told that our place is on the assembly line helping out our men.

Women in the work force are paid lower wages than men -- and are used as a pool of cheap labor to keep all wages down. Women are not expected to be "bread-winners" but to be merely interested in supplementing the family income. This rationalization is used to pay women 2/3 the wages of men and to exclude them from jobs.

Women as consumers have dozens of false needs created for them and are thereby used as a huge market for big business. The cosmetics, fashion, household goods industries sell their many products as necessities of life for all women. A woman is not sexually attractive to men if she doesn't use the right kind of detergent, they threaten.

### **The Role of the Family**

But the basic prop of this entire arrangement is the family. In our patriarchal society, women have as their main purpose in life the role of wife and mother -- chief cook and bottle washer. This is what women are taught to strive towards, finding a husband and raising a family.

In this role women are expected to make insufficient paychecks stretch to meet the needs of the family, comfort and protect her husband and children from the cruel realities of capitalism, and educate the children in the norms of capitalist society. The mother plays an important role in this conditioning of the offspring to accept the status quo. In a society which cannot provide enough jobs for men, let alone women, a society which rests on the acceptance of authority, a society which cannot provide for the raising of each generation because they don't become profitable until their late teens, the liberation of women from their main role as wife and mother is impossible. The questions are posed -- who would take care of the children? Where will the jobs come from? Who will keep the youth from rebelling? Who will hold the family together?

Capitalism is incapable of satisfying the basic needs of all people. It cannot answer the questions posed by the struggle of women for liberation except with more myths justifying the present situation. Capitalists are only interested in maintaining their present profits at the expense of women and men. Childcare for all who want it, on a 24 hour basis, would cost billions of dollars and would undermine the family as it would admit that society is responsible for the raising of the children. The wealth exists to take on this responsibility, but it is simply not



profitable for the capitalists. What's more, as the effect it would have on that pillar of reaction, the family, shows it would undermine one of the foundations of their exploitative system. A new society is needed if the needs of women are to be provided for -- a society based on human needs not on the needs of a profit hungry minority. This society has to put the ownership and control of all wealth in the hands of society as a whole. It must be a socialist society.

## **The World-Wide Radicalization**

The women's liberation movement has arisen out of a more general radicalization in *Canada* and throughout the world. Women, youth, oppressed minorities are rejecting the system that oppresses them and are demanding self-determination. The example of the Vietnamese people has played a big role in inspiring all the oppressed to struggle for liberation. Because this society is so profit oriented it cannot meet any of these demands for self-determination. The complete decay of capitalism is shown so clearly by the extreme difficulty it faces in meeting even the simple democratic demands of women.

At every step the women's liberation movement comes in conflict with this society and its institutions. It calls for free abortion on demand so that women can begin to control their bodies, and it is the government it must fight to get it. It calls for an end to the discrimination against women on the job and for equal pay. It must fight the big corporations and the government for it. It demands an end to discrimination in education and it's in the thick of a fight with the university administration, school boards, and so on. The thrust of the women's liberation movement is directed not against men but against the system.

It is no accident that the women's liberation movement arose first among youth and is still primarily student based. Youth feel little identity with the traditional roles allotted to them by society. Being the prime victims of all the worst aspects of the nuclear family, nobody can convince us that that institution should be maintained at all costs. We don't respect unquestioningly the authority of our parents. We despise the forced family relationships where money is the determining factor. The artificial relationships, which exist in today's family stifle the development of all its members. We want social and financial independence for women and for children so that they can establish relations freed from the needs of economic dependency.

We've grown up in the age of sputniks and men on the moon and we know that the sky is the limit -- if you have power. We've grown up in the age of the Pill, and we see no excuse for the denial of the right of women to control their own bodies. We have absolutely no stake in this society and we refuse to shut up about our desires for a new, more human way of living.

Our expectations are high but we end up only getting crap. The TV ads, the billboards say: "Here it is, all you lucky people -- the good life! Yours for the taking" But when you get close you can read the fine print: "Don't touch. Private Property."

## **The "Sexual Revolution"**

Perhaps one of the biggest exposés of the hypocrisy of this system is the hoax of the so-called



sexual revolution. This "revolution" is an attempt to co-opt the desire of youth for a new kind of personal relations and the rejection of the old sexual norms. The denial of any sexual freedom for young women and the stifling of honest personal relationships between young people is essential to maintaining the present family setup. In their desire for sex and their need to combat the tremendous alienation they feel, youth are driven into having unwanted children and early marriage.

The "sexual revolution" merely continues the old double standard in a new form. Sex is no more legitimate now that it is the topic of every movie, every advertisement. While youth are the prime targets of the sexual sell, we are denied any of the basic necessities for satisfying our sexual desires. We have little or no income and thus are forced to live at home until late teens. Young women aren't taught about birth control and are denied access to birth control devices and free abortion. While sex is hypocritically encouraged it is still the worst possible thing that can happen to a young woman to get caught at it. The woman student who gets pregnant is socially ostracized and often expelled from school. She has endangered her whole future by "fooling around."

But the sexual revolution has made public the prime commodity of women under capitalism - their bodies. The "liberated woman" of *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour* magazines is encouraged to come across with the goods to the highest bidder. Young women are supposed to strive to become chicks - attractive, bright, and useful appendages of men. The same old trap.

Alienation between the sexes is in no way broken down by the "sexual revolution". Both sexes are supposed to remain cool and uninvolved. The sexual repression of youth is one of the big factors in the widespread sympathy with the aims of women's liberation among young men as well as young women. As soon as they overcome their initial fear for their own tenuous position, young men can often see that the women are fighting for the same kind of life that they want.

### **The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes**

The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes has been in on the ground floor of building the women's liberation movement. Recognizing the source of the oppression and organizing to end it has always been a central part of our program. We have stood as an example to other left groups and in sharp contrast to bourgeois institutions, in the way our movement has developed women leaders.

Our brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, entitled "From Human Being to Dancing Doll - in 16 Short Years" (later printed as the pamphlet "Education and Women's Liberation") anticipated the women's liberation movement in its analysis and its demands. We organized actions around the commission hearings at a time when the one women's liberation group in the country, consisting of about a dozen women, still refused to engage in any actions outside of internal discussions.

In January 1969 we projected the possibilities for the yet-to-be-born women's liberation movement in Quebec when we held a dramatic "drink-in" protesting the exclusion of women



from Quebec pubs. Since the inception of the present movement, we have played a leading role in building the groups and in propelling them in the direction of involving more and more women.

We have been in the forefront of the struggle for a mass action oriented movement for women's liberation. Other political tendencies on the left have either ignored the women's liberation movement in practice -- such as the Communist Party, the Canadian Party of Labor (maoist), the Canadian Communist Party Marxist Leninist (maoist) -- or they have tried to divert the movement in an ultra-left deadend as the various wings of the new left have.

The YS/LJS commitment to and involvement in women's liberation is central to our reason for existence. We are organizing to overthrow this oppressive society and construct a new socialist society. We support women's liberation not only because we support all those who are oppressed and struggle to alleviate their condition, but because we realize the powerful anti-capitalist thrust of the women's liberation movement. We realize that it is an important part of the struggle for socialism.

### **A Mass Action Strategy**

Two directions were posed for the movement at the National Women's Liberation Conference in Saskatoon November 21-22, 1970 - building upon the successes of the past and developing a mass, action oriented movement or (*instead of -Ed.*) turning inward and remaining within the framework of the small, largely student groups. These sharply counterposed directions have comprised the key debate before the movement in both nations.

The discussion at the conference focused on mass action, and in particular on the continuation of the campaign for free abortion on demand. Many justifications were given for opposition to mass action, some more conscious than others.

Some women were hesitant about mass action because they felt it would cut across their discussion groups. But discussion and action are complementary, not contradictory. On-going discussions on all aspects of women's oppression, its roots and its elimination, are vital to the movement. Such discussions have played a big role in developing women, giving them pride in themselves and confidence in their ability to act. Discussion, written and verbal, has played an important part in the development of the movement thus far. Action, on the other hand, makes the movement visible, brings new women into it, directs it against the government, and so on. Actions can unite all the various groups around common projects, strengthening the movement and thus making the discussions more fruitful.

Some thought mass actions would interfere with their social service projects. Such projects as movement-operated day care centers and abortion referral services can perform useful services for women and help in drawing new women into the movement, but they cannot provide it with a central focus. It is **utopian** to believe that the movement, with its meager resources, can organize such services to a degree adequate to the needs of the millions of women who need them. And to try to do so would take the responsibility off those who should provide them -- the government, the schools, the corporations. Many of the women involved in these projects have



come to see this and are looking for something beyond this limited work. The U of T daycare sit-it was initiated by such women and many women becoming involved in the abortion campaign have been almost totally involved in abortion referral services.

### **Women - Too Divided to Unite?**

A more basic position in opposition to mass action was put forward at the conference by Marlene Dixon and Peggy Morton, formerly prominent for their written contributions on the oppression of women. Dixon began the conference with her now-famous attack on the women's liberation movement. She claimed that because of class and racial distinctions women cannot unite as women.

This position stems from a fear of a mass women's movement, and a complete lack of understanding of its anti-capitalist character. Those who hold this position don't understand the role that mass struggles around specific demands play in developing revolutionary consciousness. They are afraid of victories because they think victories automatically co-opt the movement. These false concepts are the same as those applied by the new left to the anti-war movement. These women are attempting to transform the women's liberation movement into the revolutionary movement the new left has failed to build many times before.

What they don't understand is that it is capitalism, not the liberation movement, that divides women. The women's liberation movement attempts to overcome these divisions by organizing women around their specific oppression; thus it gives them the confidence and ability to unite with men in the struggle for human liberation. Because all women are oppressed, the basic demands of women's liberation, such as free abortion on demand, are capable of mobilizing large numbers of women in spite of the differences in their individual situations. The experience of unity and common action is in itself the beginning of the breakdown of the capitalist-produced divisions between women, helping to overcome the organized isolation of women from each other.

The fear that the movement will be co-opted if "middle class" women are allowed in stems from a failure to see the overall incompatibility of the aims of the movement with the capitalist system. The more women there are in the movement, the stronger it is. Struggles which win victories spur the movement onward, rather than buying it off. These victories show in the most concrete way possible the power of women when they unite in action, and they encourage women to continue to fight for full liberation.

From this struggle for specific demands, women learn about the nature of the system that oppresses them - and about the necessity of a society based on human needs, not profit. They learn: about the cynical lack of concern for women among the present ruling class, and about the necessity of seeking allies among the working class, the only class that has no stake in the present system and that is in the strategic position to change it. Such an alliance is essential for the success of women's liberation. We have seen that, with the Abortion Caravan and the Royal Commission, the New Democratic Party, the party of organized labor in English Canada, has shown itself to be the only political party which is willing to aid the women's liberation struggle.



## **Only Working women?**

Another variation is that only working and welfare women can or should be organized. The leadership of the Vancouver Women's Caucus uses this motivation for their "Women's Unions" strategy and for their ignoring of issues such as abortion. They think that only organization against the economic oppression of working women is legitimate. They miss the main point: capitalism only gets away with the super-exploitation of women workers (lower wages, menial jobs, etc.) because it oppresses women as a sex in a multitude of different ways. There is an intricate network of myths and institutions set up to maintain that oppression. Woman's role in the family, her lack of control over pregnancy, her inferior education, and so on, are used to justify such things as lower pay.

## **Women in Quebec**

Another "too divided" argument has it that (*les Québécoises*) suffer oppression not as women but only as members of an oppressed nation. This is not true. All the oppression they suffer as members of the Quebec nation is doubled by their oppression as women. Even within the independence movement itself they are still largely assigned to "women's work" -- typing, dishwashing, etc. The most conscious of them are beginning to realize that they must struggle on two fronts at once -- for independence and as women. They have begun to organize around the slogan, "pas de Québec libre sans femmes libérées." The close interconnection between these two struggles broadens and deepens the struggle for Quebecois.

## **An Anti- imperialist Women's Movement?**

At the Saskatoon Conference another argument was added to the assortment which oppose building a women's liberation movement. This was that women's oppression is so closely intertwined with other repressive aspects of capitalism that the movement must bring in many other questions and must unite with other sectors of the population. It is in this way, it was suggested, that the revolution will be made. This is true, and it is a strong point of women's liberation that it touches on so many injustices -- the war in Vietnam in which women are fighting side by side with men, inflation, national oppression, the oppression of youth, trade union grievances, etc. But this does not mean that women cannot organize independently against their oppression, nor does it mean that the whole movement must adopt a stand on every social issue.

On the other hand, the movement cannot isolate itself from the many questions which, though they affect women, are not strictly women's concern. The basic criterion for deciding whether or not the movement should pick up related issues is whether they broaden or narrow the movement. For instance, women have had contingents in anti-Vietnam war demonstrations behind the banner "women unite against the war." The movement has nothing to lose by this kind of action. In Quebec, linking the demands of women's liberation to the independentist struggle broadens the movement -- but to have the women's movement in English Canada call for Quebec independence would narrow it.

The task of the women's liberation movement is not to substitute itself for a revolutionary



party which unites all anti-capitalist struggles. The proposal that the movement be restricted to socialists and become an "anti-imperialist women's movement" leads in this direction. This is another attempt to find a shortcut to building a revolutionary movement. We saw the same shortcut proposed in the antiwar movement many times over the past few years.

The struggle for women's liberation is a revolutionary struggle in its own right. It teaches women the necessity of a complete change in society. Its demands have the potential of drawing the largest possible number of women into struggle against the system, and only a socialist society can make possible the realization of all of the demands.

The demands of women's liberation -- such as free abortion on demand, 24-hour child care, writing women back into history, an end to all forms of discrimination, and so on -- are demands that strike at the real problems women feel and that can mobilize them into action. They place the blame for the oppression of women where it belongs -- on the government and the corporations. Women who become involved in the struggle for these demands quickly become conscious of the nature of the system, and frequently to a realization of the necessity of socialist revolution. Young women in particular refuse to accept partial alleviation of their oppression, and come quickly to see the necessity of combining their struggle with the broader struggle for socialism. This dynamic of the women's liberation movement makes it a powerful threat to the status quo.

### **Abortion Campaign**

All these rationalizations for not building a mass women's movement found a focus at the Saskatoon Conference in opposition to the campaign for free abortion on demand. This was logical: the abortion campaign has tremendous potential for taking the movement beyond its present narrow framework of small, largely student-based groups, and building it into a mass movement encompassing women from all walks of life in large numbers. The abortion issue affects every woman in this society, regardless of class, occupation or age. Student women are affected as strongly as working women. Poor women are particularly affected, since they have less access to birth control -- but all women are affected.

Already the abortion campaign has had a tremendous impact on Canadian society. It has affected even the conservative medical association, hospital boards, political parties, church groups, the Royal Commission. That such conservative groups are coming to support the demand is an indication of the breadth of the demand's support among women. The abortion issue is central not only because it involves so many women, but because it directs its fire squarely at the government. It accuses the government of murder and demands that it concede the demands of women. Perhaps nothing has exposed swinging Trudeau so much as his cynical attitude towards the millions of women who want abortions and his disregard of the thousands who are killed and maimed by illegal abortions. Once an idol of Canadian women, Trudeau has come to symbolize for many all that is rotten and sexist in this society. The ranks of the women's liberation movement have been swelled by ex-Trudeau-campaigners.

In addition to challenging the government, the campaign for free abortion on demand challenges some of the basic justifications for the oppression of women. The lack of control of



her body is an important factor in tying a woman to the family and inhibiting her ability to struggle against their oppression.

The crucial question facing the movement at this time is whether or not it can take advantage of the momentum built up for free abortion on demand and carry the struggle forward to win real victories. This is the challenge posed by the the cross-Canada February 13-14 weekend of protest, and the campaign leading up to it. Coalitions must be built for the campaign to combine local, provincial, national, and cross-country actions to mount an effective campaign. The central aspect of this campaign is the confrontation of the federal government with the demand. Part of the campaign is also the defense of doctors such as Makaroff and Morgentaler who have been victimized by the abortion laws. Morgentaler himself has used his case to popularize the demands of women's liberation and to call upon doctors to perform civil disobedience against the abortion laws.

### **Perspective for Women's Liberation**

The development of the women's liberation movement thus far, and its impact on society gives us just a small hint at the possibilities before the movement. The organization of women for their liberation will develop into a powerful movement against capitalism. It is today a major radicalizing factor in Canada -- in both nations. Such indications of mass support for the demands of women's liberation as shown by the Royal Commission report show this to be an immediate possibility for the movement in the next period. The speed at which the movement could develop should not be underestimated.

The role of the YS/LJS in helping to give the movement a mass perspective, in educating on the source of women's oppression and on the socialist solution, and in recruiting women militants to the revolutionary vanguard, is vital for the development of the women's liberation struggle.

### **Campus and High School Organizing**

The YS/LJS plays an important role in the high school and campus groups and hopefully in the future in public school groups. On the campuses we want to help orient the groups to carrying struggles against the university administration for such things as free birth control and abortion clinics on campus, university financed free child care centers, writing women back into history and a curriculum of women's studies, an end to discrimination against women in courses, universities and jobs. The movement should call jobs for in those fields where they have been traditionally excluded -- fields like engineering and medicine. These demands can be summed up in the concept of a women's liberation university -- a university radically different from the present one that institutionalizes the oppression of women.

High school women face the most blatant oppression as women and as youth. In the last few years of public school and through high school women are put through a rigorous training course designed to turn them into the kind of half-human women needed for this anti-human society. They have their oppression jammed down their throats at school, at home, in the media, everywhere. And society demands they actually enjoy this forced feeding of its rotten norms.



High school women have to fight the administration just to get the right to organize, to use the school facilities. Every struggle they initiate in the school takes on the double character of a struggle for the rights of women and the democratic rights of students. They have a multitude of issues to fight over -- the schools are packed with discriminatory practices against women. One of the most common struggles thus far has been for the right of women to wear slacks to school. These struggles have shown the reluctance of the administrations to allow women students any kind of control over their lives.

An important issue in the high schools is the right to birth control information and devices. High school women who get pregnant are highly discriminated against and often expelled from school. Birth control is a taboo subject. We want to initiate campaigns for free birth control information and devices to be available in the schools, for assemblies run by the women on birth control, abortion, sex, etc. The various forms of streaming is another important aspect under attack by high school women's liberationists.

### **Women's Liberation and the Struggle for Socialism**

The Young Socialists /Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the independent women's liberation movement are both essential parts of the struggle for socialism. The women's liberation movement is one part of the developing mass struggles against capitalism in Canada and throughout the world. Women who have never before been on a demonstration or participated in politics are coming into this movement. It is their first attempt to change an aspect of society.

In the struggle for their demands many women come to the realization that their struggle is part of a broader one against the system and begin to look for a revolutionary socialist alternative to the (status quo). Particularly younger women go quickly on to throw out the whole works once they have rejected the role allotted them as women by society. They want to belong to more than just the women's liberation movement. If the YS/LJS is not actively recruiting women's liberationists many women may become diverted into attempting to turn the women's liberation movement into a socialist movement, thus cutting across both the necessary roles of the two movements.

A mass all-inclusive women's liberation movement is crucial in order to bring the millions of women in this country into the anti-capitalist struggle. But without a conscious revolutionary socialist leadership, the movement can be diverted into reformist channels and be co-opted.

It is our responsibility to transfer our knowledge that the liberation of women is essential to and impossible without the liberation of the entire human race.

Already many women's liberation activists have joined the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. As the women's liberation movement grows, and the struggle intensifies many more women, recognizing the correctness of our program, having participated with us in the struggle for women's liberation and seeing the need for a movement to lead and co-ordinate all the specific struggles against capitalism, will join in building the YS/LJS. They will join in building a socialist society where women, men and children begin to develop into full human



beings.

*(end)*